

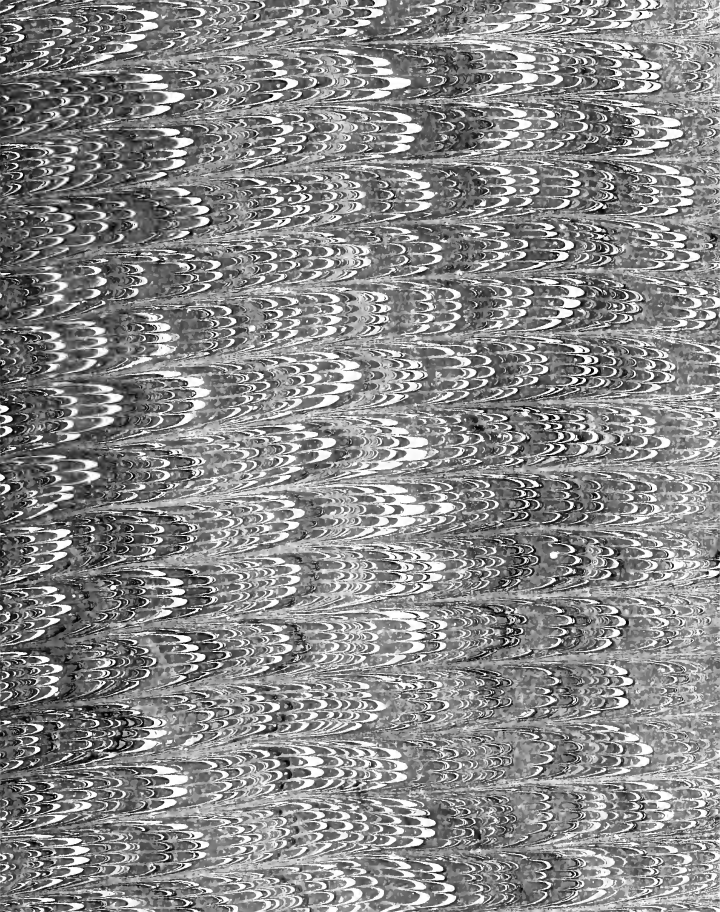
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Publications of the Historic Society,

Established May 25th, 1858.



THE

HUTCHINSON PAPERS.

VOL. II.



Albany, N. Y. :
PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY
BY JOEL MUNSELL.
1865.

1852

433
120

Committee of Publication :
WILLIAM S. APPLETON.
WILLIAM H. WHITMORE.



P R E F A C E .

THE second volume of the Hutchinson Papers will be found not inferior in interest to the first. It will be noticed that a larger proportion of the original documents have disappeared, and hence as the only remaining authority these will be duly esteemed. We may add, that though the general accuracy of Hutchinson's transcripts remains unimpaired, as vouched for in the preface to our first volume, the portion comprised herein contains more errors. By restoring the correct text of so many passages, it is hoped a permanent value is given to the present edition.

The period covered by these documents embraces the Restoration of Charles the Second, and the overthrow of James the Second. It was impossible that a colony dependent upon the Crown, but so antagonistic in principle, should not have had a difficult task in the pre-

servation of its unity and dignity. The documents here printed are essential to a right understanding of its course.

In the latter portion of the time, during the period of the ascendancy of Andros and the advocates of centralization, a revolution here seems to have been planned independent of that which is known as the "Glorious Revolution." The student will here find many curious particulars of the contest not elsewhere preserved.

Lastly, the editors, in pursuance of their previously announced plan, have carefully refrained from extended notes upon the points presented. It has seemed desirable to add those references which point to the action of the General Court, as entered on its records; but as a whole these documents must be considered as the notes themselves to the history of the Colony.

The editors have also availed of the services of the Rev. J. A. Vinton, in preparing a full and classified Index of names and topics, a want hitherto felt by every possessor of a copy of the original edition. Thus improved it is hoped that this republication will renew the fame of the author, and bear down to the thanks of future generations the most valuable labor of Thomas Hutchinson.

Boston, 1865.



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COLLECTION of PAPERS

Relative to Massachusetts-Bay.

Copy of the Case of George Giddings and others of
Ipswich, referring to Mr. Cobbet.¹

June 22. 1657.

George Giddings, plaintiff,
against

Edward Browne, defendant.

IN an action of trespass upon the case for entering his
house and severing his pewter dishes or platters and
marking of them.

I find in this case for the plaintiff,

Damage 0—1—0

Costs 0—5—8

And the case being of very weighty concernment in the
country (I conceive) I shall expresse the groundes of
my judgment.

I understand this to be about a fundamentall law, and that
a fundamentall law properly so called. It is such a law as
that

¹ Mr. Symonds the Justice who tried this cause was descended from an ancient
and honorable family in Yuldham in Essex, where he had a good Estate. The
proceedings are somewhat singular and the arguments give us some idea of the no-
tions of government prevailing in that day. H.

Samuel Symonds was son of Richard, and born at Great Yeldham in 1595. He
came to Ipswich in 1637, and was constantly and prominently employed in public
duties till his death in 1678. He was Deputy Governor from 1673. A.

that God and nature have given to a people. So that it is in the trust of their governors in highest place and others, to preserve, but not in their power to take away from them.

Of which sort are these, viz.

1. Election of the supreme governours.

[288] 2. That every subject shall and may enjoy what he hath a civell right or title unto, soe as it cannot be taken from him, by way of gift or loan, to the use or to be made the right or property of another man, without his owne free consent.

3. That such lawes (though called libertyes) yet more properly they may be called rights, and in this sence this may be added as a third fundamentall law, viz.

That no custome or precedent ought to prevayle in any morall case, that may appear to be sinnfull in respect of the breach of any law of piety against the first table, or of righteousness against the second.

And for brevity sake I shall now forbear to write further, and respite what I have more to say to be expressed in another paper, what doth more clearly and fully tend to enlighten my judgment in this case, ready to be manifested when occasion is.

Samuel Symonds.

June 23. 1657.

Edward Browne appealeth from the sentence in the case above unto the next county court holden at Salem, and acknowledgeth himselfe bound to this government in the summe of three pounds to prosecute his appeale to effect, according to the law provided about appeales.

Samuel Symonds.

At a generall towne meeting the 25th of February 1655.
Voted to give 100*l.* toward building or buying a house for Mr. Cobbet.

This is a true copy taken out of the towne booke June 20th 1657.

Per me

Robert Lord.

At

At a meeting of the select men the 13th of June 1657.

There being a vote of the towne to give one hundred pounds toward building or buying Mr. Cobbet a house, and the last seven men² accordingly proportioned the same [289] upon the inhabitants, and complaint being made by the deacons that divers refuse to pay :

It is therefore ordered by the now select men that the marshall, Edward Browne, shall and is hereby impowered to distrayne upon such persons (their severall sums) as refuse or delay to pay their proportion to the hundred pound by vote of the towne given to Mr. Cobbet toward building him a house.

This is a true copy out of the towne booke,
taken the 15th of June 1657. by Robert Lord.

We whose names are under written doe witnesse that this order which is above expressed by this copy was our mind expressed by word to be entered in the towne booke.

Daniel Warner, W. Hubbard,
Robert Lord. John Appleton,

A copy of the summons.

To Edward Browne of Ipswich.

You are required to appeare before me upon the second day next, at two of the clocke after noone, it being the 22d day of this instant, to answer the complaint of George Giddings in an action of trespassse upon the case for entering his house and severing his pewter dishes or platters and marking of them, and hereof you are not to fayle at your perill. Dated the 16th day of the 4th month, anno Dom. 1657.

Samuel Symonds.

These coppies written on both sides this paper were examined by the originals by me Samuel Symonds.

June

² The same with the Selectmen. H.

June 22.³ } A copy of the vote (in the case adjudged) as I
1657. } have taken it, viz.

Voted to give 100*l.* towards building or buying a house for Mr. Cobbet.

See the Record
of the judgm^t
in the case.

WHEREAS when I gave my sentence in the case before me, betweene George Giddings plaintiff, and Edward Browne defendant, in an action of trespass upon the case, &c. I did [290] expresse some grounds of my judgment to be seen in the records. Now I shall add further what doth induce me to that apprehension in the case, viz.

First, This may be given as a reason, that it is against a fundamentall law in nature to be compelled to pay that which others doe give. For then no man hath any certaynty or right to what he hath, if it be in the power of others (by pretence of authority or without) to give it away (when in their prudence they conceive it to be for the benefit of the owner soe to doe⁴) without his owne consent.

Secondly, This to me is some strengthening to induce my apprehension in this case, viz. That notwithstanding in England, it cannot be denied, but that mens estates were sometimes unduly taken from them: Some by force, some by fraud, some by sinister wresting of evidences, yea, and sometimes of lawe it selfe, as about knighthood-money, shipmoney, &c. yet I dare say, if search be made into histories, lawyers bookes of reports, records,⁵ &c. it cannot be made to appeare that in the most exorbitant times any man hath had his estate taken from him as by the guift of others, under colour of lawe, or countenance of authority. Noe, noe, lawyers would have blushed to have given such a construction of lawes; and suddenly their faces would have waxed pale. For the Kinge would have

³ From this point Mr. Symonds' original manuscript is in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. A.

⁴ Hutchinson omits these three words. A.

⁵ Omitted by Hutchinson. A.

have beene too wise to have owned the plea. And what would all wise men have said for such taking away the greatest outward right or liberty from them? For it may be understood, that benevolencies, encouraging gratuities, leaves, or privy feales, were not required by lawe, or by pretence of lawe, but desired as by favour. However they were obtained by illegall and tyranicall meanes, as was apprehended.

This I say further, and I doe argue it from the greater to the lesse. That if noe kinge or parliament can justly enact and cause that one mans estate, in whole or in part, may be taken from him and given to another without his owne consent, then surely the major part of a towne or other inferior powers cannot doe it. But shew us any man that can produce any footstep for such a way, either directly or indirectly.

[291] But to the contrary it appeareth unto me. See Dalton, page 401. where it is to this effect. That the kinge cannot release a man out of prison (being in at a private mans suit) to his damage, without his owne consent. Also to the same purpose see Sir Henry Finch, recorder of London, in his first booke of lawe, page 74, having ended his rules about native or fundamentall lawes, he saith in the next page, Therefore lawes positive doe lose their force and are noe lawes at all, which are directly contrary to the former viz. native or fundamentall.

The parliament may tax (and that justly) the whole country to give a gift or reward to one man for some service; for they are trusted soe to doe. The reason is, it is levied upon the whole country, with their consent, and for the immediate benefit of the whole.

But if they should doe it between persons (though they should soe doe by power, and the person wronged hath noe remedy in this world) yet it would be accounted tyranny. Is it not to take from Peter and give it to Paul?

If one man, for such a turne or good end, may justly be deprived of a fundamentall right or liberty, then an other
and

and an other, and so every man. In England there is but one sort of men that might be deprived of their goods; which kinde⁶ are usually called slaves but there they are called villeynes to the lord of the mannor.

Thus much touching⁷ fundamentall lawe, in reference to mine and thine, not to be given or taken away without his owne consent.

But now to answer some objections that may be made to the case in hande.

Objection. Suppose it be true what is expresse^d, and granted that he were a strange man that should deny the same in the generall: Yet, notwithstanding, it hindereth not but that a towne (when and as often as they thinke good, in their prudence) may doe it for good ends, and foe (in speciall cases) it may lawfully be done in the particular, upon the lawe made page the 9th, *that every inhabitant [292] shall contribute to all charges in church and commonwealth (whereof he doth or may receive a benefitt) else he shall be strayed.*⁸

Answer. I conceive that it is an extreame dishonour cast upon the generall court, to make such a construction of their positive laws as doth infringe the fundamentall law of mine and thine; for it must needs be voyd, if it should indeed be necessarily construed against the right or liberty of the subject. But the law in its true sense is good.

Before this recited law was made, though some churches, or townes rather, did agree how much yearly maintenance the minister should have, yet it was not rated, at least in any compellable way, by the towne, but men did pay their proportion in a way of voluntary contribution. But some (especially non members) some of them did grow slacke; and so the burthen grew too hevy upon church members,

⁶ Sort, in former edition. A.

⁷ Concerning, in former edition. A.

⁸ Massachusetts Records, I, 240. A.

bers, &c. And upon consideration it was found lawfull to make a law to compell every one to beare his owne share; forasmuch as by hearing the word and publique prayer, &c. he did or might receive a benefitt and (in a way of God) be received as a member with the rest. And yet the law was framed soe, as such churches as chose rather⁹ to goe in a voluntary way of weekly contribution or soe, might soe continue, notwithstanding this law, as some churches in this country doe to this day.

But for the right understanding of the word *benefitt* in the law, it is worthy the consideration or attendance, that benefitt and necessary duty must goe together. The law both of God and the country doth require people to goe to the meeting for publique worship.

But it is not understood that any law doth provide that every towne shall buy or build a house for the minister as often as there is a removall by death or otherwise, I mean to be his in propriety.

Let us a little examine the poynt of *benefitt* that a man doth or may receive, as a motive to such a gift.

[293] First, suppose or admitt the giver (compelled by the act of others against his will) should gaine twenty fold thereby, viz. by the use of such a smith, or person obtained into towne, yet that doth nothing at all warrant the act.

And if you should onely consider matter of *benefitt* (not at all in this consideration minding the poynt of lawfulnessse or unlawfulnessse in being compelled to pay) though it be not material to the case (as hath been sayd) whether it be *benefitt* or not in this respect, yet then the other way voted by the towne, viz. for the ministry, according to the law provided, (by so generall if not universall consent) is to be compared with this way now strayned for, to understand which way turnes the scale for matter of *benefitt*.

He that layeth downe a summe of money in hand for worke
to

⁹ Omitted by Hutchinso. A.

to be done, gives just occasion for others to take into the consideration whether a mans life be foe certayne or his continuance in the place and worke is made so fure as that it is a *benefitt* to goe in that way rather than in the other: For in any matter of this kind, rightly to understand whether foe or foe be a *benefitt*, yea or noe, both the present and future arguments must be weighed together.

Obj. But if any should object and say there is noe comparison betweene the *benefitt* that ariseth by the ministers function amongst people and externall temporall goods, &c.

Anf. It is fully granted in one sence, but not in the sence of our enquiry. Here externall *benefitt* (in the comparison) is the thing considerable, as that the labourer is worthy of his hire.

For if the objecter should have men otherwise to understand the matter of *benefitt*, he must alter his mind upon this consideration: Whoever doth but ride through the towne, and the people being met at that tyme, the stranger comes in and speaks some heavenly truths amongst them: Is not this of greater value than all the lands, houses and cattle in the towne? And is it therefore legall and binding, if the major part present doe give him 100*l*?

[294] Obj. But the law urged fol. 9. expresseth civill charges

This is quite contrary to the rules following for interpretation of laws.

as well as ecclesiasticall; therefore, though it were a mischief to the commonwealth so to interpret general sentences in positive or court lawes; this law (so interpreted) will leave them out, if a towne or select men shall thereupon give, and accordingly rate and distrayne such as never consented to their acting, to one good ditcher foe much over and above his allowance for his worke by the rodd, &c. Such a smith foe much, &c. For it is to the *benefitt* of the towne to incourage them to stay, and so be content to take the lesse wages.

Anfw. Amongst 200 inhabitants in a towne, whereof a matter of fix, or foe, be worth 2000*l*. a piece, the rest doe perceive

perceive that the six rich men within a yeare will remove their estates out of towne. The towne having a generall meeting doe give 300l. to the present minister, that the proportion of the estates of such rich men may ease themselves for the future: It is in consideration of his staying amongst us and as part of his yearly maintenance and for advancing the lands of the towne in generall, either to lett out or sell for such as come into towne after such a summe layd down in hand before the worke be done. And who can deny but the rich men doe or may receive a *benefitt*, or some *benefitt* (at the least) thereby, namely, by the word of God preached, before they do remove their estates out of towne.

After this there is another tax raised by the towne (there being 20 of good estate though not neare the first) for some good end, &c. and there are divers valuable considerations held forth, them thereunto moving, at last the few richer¹⁰ men begin to perceive that they being few in number shall be levelled, and yet comfort themselves that they cannot be made slaves in this countrey: For though they be thus deprived of their estates, yet they have the words of a law for them; and if all, in a manner, should be thus wasted, yet there is such a way to ease them again.

Thus much touching the matter of *benefitt* construed and urged by the law, fol. 9.

[295] About a bargain or contract.

Obj. Suppose it should be endeavoured to be made a bargain, &c.

Ans. It is no matter to the case in question: For though it be in the power of a person or of many (each person consenting) to make a bargain never so much to his owne losse, yet he or they must be holden to it: But otherwise it is with a derived power in¹¹ trust, being a society; for they have
not

¹⁰ *Riche* in former edition. A.

¹¹ *Or* in former edition. A.

not such an unlimited domination over other mens estates or persons; For, setting aside the consideration of the fundamentall law (before sufficiently spoken unto) they are limited by statute law. And such bargains as bind the non consenters must be equall,¹² rationall, and the termes or conditions also expressed or¹³ certayne: If any of these fayle noe law will bind them.

This is knowne, that upon motions in towne meetings and other companies, some use one argument or motive, some another. Some are moved with one argument or valuable¹⁴ consideration in his mind, some with another. And is the rule to seeke then (or onely so in this case) what is the way of nations to understand the mind of the company? Must not recourse be had to the record?

In the case in question, doe the agitations end in a bargain, or in a gift? Whatever the motives were that did incline, &c. if so expressed in termes, it is hard worke to add thereunto or to alter therefrom.

If it were so, that any man were not capable to receive a gift, it might have some colour to be interpreted to be a bargain, or contract.

But if it be an equall or rationall thing to have pay laid downe, or urged to be laid downe afore-hand, where a call of God is acknowledged by accepting and taking office before. And besides the knowledge of the yearly salary, knowing also that the place was willing to expend 150*l.* to buy or build a house for the use of the ministry, which during his abode there he was to dwell in.

And when there are noe certayne conditions that doe provide, in case he die or remoove within one yeare, or [296 one month, his executor to returne part of it to the towne, or when there is no such conditions, nor any at all expressed,

¹² *Just* in former edition. A.

¹³ *And* in former edition. A.

¹⁴ Omitted by Hutchinson. A.

pressed, and onely one party knowne to consent, and that as they have done, whether this can be called a just and binding contract or bargain, yea or noe, or any at all, let the world judge.

And certayne such as plead on the now defendants party must say it is either a gift or a bargain. If this be endeavoured to be a bargain or contract, it is a very blind bargain, as they say, which (acting upon oath) I could not allow. If a gift (for there may be motives and high considerations in the minds of the granters to give as well as to conclude a bargain) then it doth not bind such as doe not consent to be forced to pay what doe move other men to give away out of their estates.

So much about the matter of contract or consideration.

Now a little about interpretation of lawes and of rules to be attended therein.

Let us not (here in New-England) despise the rules of the learned in the lawes of England, who have both great helps and long experience.

1. First rule is, that where a law is such as that, by wresting, a man may give such an interpretation as will overthrow it, when it might be construed to be good; this is a corrupt interpretation. So holy scripture may be wrested.

Finch p. 33. If repugnant to fundamentall law, its voyd; as
in his book^e if it gives power to take away an estate from one
of law. man and give it to another.

Page 75. It is then consonant, if it be to compell men
to pay necessary duties in church and common
wealthe, as yearly maintenance.

2. Another rule is about equality. Hence where a company in trust doth act, if any will imply conditions (noe way exprest) yet, to hold forth any color of binding,
F. P. 20. they must be knowne to be equall and certaine;
though

though a statute law should provide or expresse mischiefously. See his words at large, justly applyable as is expressed. [297]

3. Another rule appeareth to this effect. That where
 Dalton a person is sued at a private mans suit, and put in
 p. 401. prison upon execution, the king cannot pardon that
 imprisonment without the consent of the party plt.
 and the reason is there given ; for it is in lieu of damage to
 the party, as hath been touched before.

4. The law construeth things with equity and moderation ;
 Finch and therefore restrayneth a generall act, if there be
 page 55. any mischief or inconveniency in it.

So far touching rules for interpretation of laws.

Quest. By the way : Seeing there is so much spoken about
 fundamentall lawes and interpretations, what may be the
 difference betweene the late Earle of Straffords interpreta-
 tions and actings against fundamentall lawes, and sometimes
 those of other men ?

Answ. Although in some things materially they should be
 the same, yet formally they are not, or may not be so.

The Earle of Straffords acting was found to be a treacher-
 ous and perfidious attempt to alter and subvert the frame of
 polity.

So there were these particulars in it, viz. First his end was
 naught. 2dly, He acted arbitrarily against such lawes. 3dly,
 It was done perfidiously, it being done willingly.

But others acting against fundamentall law, charity con-
 strueth that their end they ayme at is good. Secondly,
 their arbitrary construction (where it is so) may be through
 ignorance, or through want of notice taking of such rules
 for interpretation of laws as are expressed in the lawyers
 bookes.

Precedents and judgments in courts.

Although there had been noe precedent in the like case, yet
 I ought

I ought (I conceive) to have judged, in the case in question, according to the rules foregoing: Notwithstanding, I grant that what I find to have been judged already and acted, both justly and honourably, I ought to be the more confirmed thereby.

[298] 1. In Ipswich, some years since, the town greatly wanted a good chirurgeon, &c. and the inhabitants then generally being desirous of such a person to inhabit amongst us; the chiefe sort consulted how to effect it. It must cost above 50*l* to bring it about.

It was concluded that it could not be justly done by way of rate, but each mans name being drawne out (according to a rate) such as were willing did signify the same, and the rest were left to use their liberty.

2. I am informed and doe partly remember it, that some yeares since there was a six acre lott in Ipswich purchased for Jeffery Snelling; but some of the inhabitants consented not: It came at last to a suite in Ipswich court, and it was found against the towne, because by law they could not give away any mans estate against his owne consent, notwithstanding the considerations and motions inducing.

And admitt there were not such weighty considerations or benefitt as in some other case there may be, the degree is not the poynt; for *majus et minus non variant speciem*. Ambrose Leach the seller of the land. Daniell Clarke was sued.

3. There is yet, I conceive, a concluding judgment¹⁵ (in the like case) in the generall court, I referr to the record it selfe (but till an understanding man, then an inhabitant of Weymouth, (as I am informed) mentioned it since the passing of my sentence in the case in question) it was out of my mind.

I remember the substance of it, and I suppose so doe many more. That towne of Weymouth did generally agree to provide an house and meet accommodations for the use of the

¹⁵ *Argument* in former edition. A.

This case was tried at a county court at Boston, and found against the town.

the ministry, to remaine for posterity. The matter came into the generall court. Mrs. Richards stood out, and not many (if any more besides) and although the court did soe well like their ayme, or the thing (in it selfe considered) as may by and by appeare, yet it was judged in court that they could not justly impose payment upone one, or more persons, not consenting. [299] One Dyer¹⁶ was then deputy of that towne, and did prosecute in behalf of the towne: Yet herein the court gave a testimony of their good liking in respect of the townes intent, viz. in that way to provide for the ministry. And accordingly the law was framed, and enacted for the future, that very court.¹⁷

Page 20. This provision was not to give away, but to remaine to posterity, and the like provision was for every towne in the country; and that which a great part, if not the greater part, of Ipswich have desired and do still stand for.

Obj. But it may yet further be objected, That the two wayes, viz. of giving a sume, 100*l.* more or lesse, and that of laying out 150*l.* for the ministry, whereby the present minister should have the benefitt and use during his life (if he staid in the place which he had formerly accepted) and after him the same to remaine to posterity for the use of the ministry, which were best is considerable, &c. Now seeing the greater part doth choose rather the latter way, by a major vote, what great matter if the other part doth not yield to it? or why should they not yet yield to it, for the first way seems to tende most to peace, and there is lesse present expence about it, &c.

Ans. The answer to this is, we are not now upon perfwasive arguments, what is least expence, &c. or what may be supposed to tend most to peace, or upon a thing to be done: But I am to judge the case according to justice and right,

upon

¹⁶ Thomas Dyer was deputy from Weymouth, 1646-47-50 53-54, &c. A.

¹⁷ See Massachusetts Records, II, 217, and IV, 199 A.

upon what is already done ; wherein, according to my oath and trust, I am not to respect persons in judgment.

Obj. But possibly some will yet further object that it was done in part of his maintenance.

Anf. This is spoken unto already. How can this be part of that contract which was some six weeks before, viz. that he should have 80*l.* per ann. for his maintenance, and a house was procured for him for the present, and a vote passed to pay 150*l.* to provide for him during his being in the place, and then to leave it for such an end, &c. especially the matter being soe varioussly propounded and argued¹⁸ as each man thought good in the meeting house. [300] Some saying to this effect (to promote a guift) that the minister would not stay unless he had soe much to buy or build a house for himselfe in propriety. Others did adhere to the former way agreed upon. Againe, some saying it were best to procure a sum by way of subscription, viz. to put it to men to give as the arguments did move them, in a voluntary way. Others that it might be voted, &c.

All this while noe demandant present nor noe authority to this day appearing to mention much lesse to conclude a bargain or contract.

But the result of all motions and arguments was to give 100*l.* as it is expressed in the record. From which I dare not in any wise in point of justice recede.

Obj. Lastly, if it be objected that in that there was soe great a sume given or granted it may stumble the busines, but had there beene a matter of half of it or lesse it would have been held good.

Anf. However too often it falls out in the world that smaller injuries or errors are passed by, being done by the hands of such as have power in their hands¹⁹ and specially if acted

¹⁸ *Agreed* in former edition. A.

¹⁹ In the manuscript a line is drawn through these three words. A.

acted by such as are in supreme authority, yet such actings were but a crooked or lefbian rule to justify an act thereby. Will it not be yeelded that *majus & minus non variant speciem*? If the major part can justly give away one pound, by the same reason 100*l* yea 1000*l*. If one acre of another mans ground, his orchard also, yea his farme as well. And that although a parliament or generall court cannot doe it.

Such as promise a guift it behoves them in poynt of conscience to make payment (and they only it is conceived) though not as vote of the towne, but as each particular mans promise doth binde himself.

Quest. If it be demanded whether there be any difference betweene disposing mens estates by way of guift (under colour of law and countenance of authority) unto other men against or without the consent of the owners and the doctrine of levellisme.

[301] Anf. It may be answered (I conceive) to this effect, viz. That of the levellers, though wicked and absurd, yet it is as yet but doctrinall (I thinke) but this kinde of transposing mens estates is both doctrinall and practicall alsoe, and soe leadeth more directly to tyranny as it seemeth.

Secondly, Levellisme (I take it) reacheth but to the estate, &c. But this (if accounted legall) men may for a debt soe obtained (as in other cases) upon execution for a debt inforce the person to prison, or expose him to be sold to make payment.

Quest. But what if there be an interpretation put upon the words of the records, and call it a contract, will not this help the matter?

Anf. This liberty to interprett acts or records against the playne words thereof (if it be a help) I suppose it is to make the matter worse in this respect (if worse can be) than the doctrine of levellisme, for by their doctrine (I thinke) a man may understand what they meane by their words, and their words are used (its likely) in one fence.

But

But this kinde of liberty of interpreting seems to countenance and strengthen the opinion of the scepticks, which makes all things true, and soe indeed nothing true or certayne. Hence when an act will serve the turne let the words stand, else take liberty to interpret them for the purpose.¹⁹

If this kind of liberty be good, either to construe laws (provided for necessary payments) or turning gifts into contracts (as men please) then indeed it is all one whether both parties be present when the busines is in hand or not. And though it was wont to be lawe that a bargain, whether it proveth gaynfull or loosing, yet being made bindeth both parties. But had this vote beene for 20*l.* (or soe) instead of 100*l.* would it be interpreted good, binding and disannulling of the vote for the 150*l.*? But this was intended doubtless by some, namely by granting a new sume to change or repeale the act for the former way agreed on, according to the lawe and the townes contentment, though herein alsoe they did mistake, for there [302] appeareth to be noe vote to disannull the former. Soe that if there were divers more graunts or gifts in this kind, they were all additionall, and would all be gotten by suit and distresse, and if this may, justly be obtained by lawe.

The question unto this court is annexed under the hand of the clerk of Salem court.

It being framed in one question by Salem court, it doth consist of a compound axiome.

Upon viewing whereof I finde the paper to contayne two questions distinctly taken.

1. First, Whether the vote doth binde all or any of the inhabitants of the said towne to pay any thinge towards the said 100*l.*

2. Secondly

¹⁹ *Their purposes* in former edition.

2. Secondly, Whether such as voted not but are and were unwilling may be compelled thereunto, yea or noe?

The first of these doth not concerne such as refuse to pay or are defendants in the case originally: Save that they are bound to desire that matters may be rightly understood and judged. Not doubting but the court seeth a manifest difference betweene a mans being bound in private conscience to performe his owne promise, and being legally bound by a vote of a towne. For a towne or court cannot or need not distinguish of particular persons who is for the affirmative, who not. But how many, &c. Its the validity of a major part's vote is in question; not the personall vote of this man or of that.

The latter doth properly concerne the said defendants. For payment whereunto, or accordingly, they are sued and their goods distreyned. And the case is now come to this court for resolution.

The order of the towne of Ipswich, its proceeding in reference to the business²⁰ in question was to this effect, viz.

At a meeting in Ipswich October 55, about the tyme of Mr. Cobbetts coming to towne, there was a vote past to pay 80*l.* per ann. for his maintenance.

[303] Alsoe there was another vote of the towne expressing their willingnes to disburse a sume not exceeding 150*l.* to provide for the ministry.

And there was a meeting of the towne in February following (being about six weekes after Mr. Cobbett was ordayned) upon much agitation to and fro there was a vote past in these words, viz. Voted by the towne to give 100*l.* to buy or build a house for Mr. Cobbett.

It is conceived that the view hereof doth afford argument for

²⁰ *Answers* in former edition. A.

for further clearing and confirming (if need were) of what is argued for in this paper.

To conclude this matter, I thank God, I am for ordinances both in church and commonwealth ; and consequently for due meanes for the upholding of them (and doe account it not onely a great wickednes to be contrary minded, but extreme folly and madnes) and I thinke it tends to the honour of them, when, in reference thereunto, provision is made either in a voluntary or else in a way of compulsion, grounded upon such principles as both here and in other nations will be owned as just and equall.

I doe sometymes remember what is said of Levy. In poynt of right and truth, he tooke noe notice of father or mother. And that is the way to establish love and peace in this our Israel. And the holy scripture doth oblige the doctrine and practice of piety according to the first table, and of distributive justice in the second, both expressly, or by necessary consequence, at the hands of such as are called to dispence the same, though they take not oath soe to doe.

It is supposed that noe man is come to New England to have his goods given and taken from him, unto, or for what good end, or under what pretence soever.

If this should be confirmed for good law ; henceforth then (I conceive) there will be noe more need, or little, to make any more propositions for voluntary contributions.²¹

[304] Vote of the General Court.

AT a generall yearly meeting of the inhabitants of the towne of Ipswich 25 Feb. 1655, voted to give one hundred pounds

²¹ Here the manuscript ends. If it be part of that used by Hutchinso[n], the copyist made some strange mistakes, most of which have been noted. A.

pounds towards building or buying a house for Mr. Cobbett.

The Question being put, whether this vote doth bind all or any of the inhabitants of the said towne to pay any thing towards the said 100*l.* and whether such as are unwilling may be compelled thereunto or no? The deputies on a hearing of the reasons alleaged on both sides, and on serious consideration of the same, have resolved in the negative, with reference to the judgment of our honoured magistrates heerein.

20th 8th 1657.

William Torrey, Cleric.

The magistrates consent not heereto.

Edward Rawson, Secretary.

To the honoured Generall Court now assembled.

WHEREAS it hath pleased God in the way of his providence to exercise the towne of Ipswich with great troubles, by removing those reverend elders which they formerly enjoyed, it pleased God in our straits by the help of our honoured Governor, Deputy Governor and severall of the reverend Elders, to provide for us an able helpe in the worke of the Lord among us, our rev. pastour Mr. Th. Cobbet, whom now at present we enjoy. After he was come amongst us, we came in a church-meeting to consider how to provide for his maintenance, in which we conceive a house must be provided for him. Then the case came to be propounded to the towne in a generall towne-meeting, where being some agitations about it, there passed a vote, which is here expressed.

Voted to give 100*l.* towards the building or buying a house for Mr. Cobbet.

Which vote was full and cleare; and afterwards there was a proportion made by the selectmen of the towne upon the severall

severall inhabitants. But there being diverse of them that refused to pay their proportion, the deacons [305] came to consider with the selectmen what to do about it, and they ordered the marshall to distreine one, or two. He was sued in an action of trespassse before our honoured magistrate Mr. Samuel Symonds, from whose judgment he appealed to Salem court; where the partyes appearing, were desired by the court to cease prosecution and to let the question be stated by the court and presented to the generall court. Which was accordingly consented unto. Which we humbly intreat this honoured court to take into their consideration.

A copy of the order of Salem Court.

WHEREAS there were severall actions commenced at this court by some of the inhabitants of Ipswich, which were of great and generall concernment. And the court fearing the usuall manner of proceedings would not put a comfortable issue to the said cases, propounded to the partyes that the question in controversy might be stated and presented to the generall court for resolution, which should determine the particular actions and all others that might arise upon the said question, which question was by the court stated with the consent of partyes, and is as followeth.

At a generall yearely meeting of the inhabitants of the towne of Ipswich Feb. 25. 55. voted to give 100*l.* toward building or buying a house for Mr. Cobbet.

The question is, Whether this vote doth bind all or any of the inhabitants of the said towne to pay any thing toward the said 100*l.* and that such as are or were unwilling may be compelled thereunto, yea or no? And it is agreed that either party shall have liberty to present their reasons, in writing, to the generall court, pro and con. But no other pleadings by either party to be allowed.

According to which liberty we present as followeth.

The

The question hath two parts, 1. Whether the vote be binding. 2. Whether such as refuse may be compelled.

The first being proved, the other will easily follow.

[306] Reasons tending to prove the affirmative.

The vote is legall, therefore binding. It is legall in respect of the matter and manner. For the matter, it is necessary, publicke towne charges, viz. honourable maintenance of the ministry, which the law requires in generall, but leaves to each towne to determine and apply in particular, suitable to their owne condition; provided they are subject to be regulated by higher authority, where need shall require. This honourable maintenance, we conceive, cannot be lesse than that a minister, for his labour in preaching the gospell, (whatever estate he hath of his owne) should have such a recompence whereby he may be enabled comfortably to provide for the present necessity of his family, to be given to hospitality, and to leave some comfortable provision for his family after his decease, as other men by Gods blessing upon their ordinary labours are generally enabled to doe. This being granted which (we hope) seems but just and reasonable, that ministers families may not be left in a worse condition than most other mens, the particular way and manner of affording this maintenance (where there are variety of apprehensions) must necessarily be determined by the major part. So it was in our case, and the towne pitched upon what is expressed in the vote, the due fulfilling of which is necessary and justifiable upon these grounds.

1. The usuall yearly allowance will not reach the former end, viz. to afford any provision for a ministers family after his death.

2. This hath been a common practise among ourselves formerly, and in other places in the country lesse able, not only to give their first but succeeding ministers a dwelling house, or somewhat proportionable that way.

3. This

3. This we perceived would be most acceptable, and might rationally be expected, and the other way propounded, of providing a house meerly for use, would not be acceptable, as not being usuall in the country, and apprehended prejudiciall to the families of ministers after their decease.

[307] 4. The sume given is not so great as to exceed the end for which it is granted, or to burden the towne in payment of it, and other lesse sumes being propounded, this was freely chosen and resolved on.

This for the legality of the vote in respect of the matter and substance of it.

For the manner. It was a lawful meeting, free liberty of debate being given, and at last concluded by the farre major part, very few opposing it either in debate or voting.

Thus the vote appearing legall, we conceive it binding, and being so, we conceive the towne hath power to compell such as refuse to yield to it, by virtue of a law enacted and established by the generall court, p. 9. providing that all common charges to church and commonwealth may be compelled by assessment and distresse.

To conclude, we hope and perswade ourselves that our brethren are one with us in their love and desire to encourage an able godly ministry among us, and will judge it safest and fittest both to the mind of God and the godly zeale and religious care of our honoured generall court, to be open, rather than strait-handed that way: And that we would not be justly taxed for, nor exemplary in, the least discouragement of that nature, and that we agree in the end, only differ about the meanes of attaining it.

This 22 of the 4th mo. 1657.

FOrasmuch as there is a case in controversy concerning a sum of money, containing one hundred pounds, voted by some in a towne meeting to be given to Mr. Cobbet for
his

his particular use to buy or build him a house, we whose names are underwritten (promising due reverence to the person fore-mentioned) conceiving ourselves not to be obliged by a major vote in an act of that nature, not being involved in that act; we here crave leave, as without offence unto any, to declare our dislike of it, we never acting in it nor gave any encouragement thereunto, seeing noe reason foe to doe; yet doe we declare our^[308]selves freely willing to contribute as we are able to a convenient habitation for the use of the ministry to remain the townes to posterity, according to the wholsome lawes established by the honoured generall court, provided it may be excepted acknowledged and recorded to belong to the towne for that end, according as is provided in the said recited law, for which end there being a townemeeting called quickly after Mr. Cobbet came to Ipswich, many of us know there was a vote then passed to raise a sum of money not exceeding one hundred and fifty pounds, which hath not bin as yet demanded, &c.²²

At²³ the Courtheld at Salem 1. 5. 1657.

WHEREAS here were several actions commenced against several of the inhabitants of Ipswich which were of greate concernment, and the court fearing the usuall manner of proceeding would impede a comfortable issue to the said cases, propounded to the parties that the question in controversie might be stated and presented to the generall court for resolution, which determine the particular actions and all others that arise upon the said question, which question was by the court stated with the consent of parties and is also as followeth,

At a generall yearly meeting of the inhabitants of the towne of Ipswich, 25 Feb. 1655, voted to give one hundred

²² Signed by a great number of the inhabitants of Ipswich. H.

²³ The rest of this case is printed in Massachusetts Records, IV, 310. A.

hundred pounds towards building or buying a house for Mr. Cobbet.

The question is whether this vote doth bind all or any of the inhabitants of the said towne to pay any thing towards the said hundred pounds, and that such as are or were unwilling may be compelled thereunto yea or noe. And it is agreed that the parties shall have libertie to present their reasons in writing to the generall court pro and con, but noe other pleading by either partie to be allowed.

Veria copia, per Elias Stileman, Cleric.

Voted by the whole court 21st Octob. 57,

On the affirmative.

E. R. Sec.

[309] This case thus signed by the officers of the county court at Salem, was presented to the general court sitting at Boston, 14th of Octob. 1657, was at the perusall of the reasons alleadged by both parties taken consideration of, the question resolved in the affirmative.

This is a true coppie.²⁴

Copy of a Letter²⁵ from Governor Endecott to John Leverett, Esq; Agent in England.

Sir,

I Cannot write unto you by a more faithfull friend then I have done, who is able at large to relate unto you how things

²⁴ The great doubt in this long case seems to have been whether an act of the supreme authority, empowering the major part of the inhabitants of a town to tax the minor part which did not consent to the tax, was not contrary to the fundamental laws in government. It must be remembered that many of this minor part were not voters in town affairs, neither in person nor by any representative of their own constituting. The arguments are as strong against taxes by the General Court as by a Town, and yet the House of Representatives (p. 304) voted that the tax made by the town was not binding. In a day or two after they altered their mind. There was a division in the colony at this time upon the mode of maintenance of ministers, any other way except by voluntary contribution being opposed by many, of whom Mr. Justice Symonds seems to have been one. H.

²⁵ The original is in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. A.

things in general stand here. And that doth save me some labour which at this time is a favour to me. For in this extremitie of heate, and that after a longe sicknes, I am verie faint, not fitt to doe any thing, yet I cannot but, by these, heartilie salute you in the Lord, giving you many thanks for what you sent me. For all good news is welcome to us as you know full well. Yet I cannot for the present answer your expectation touching Road-Island and Clark and Holmes,²⁶ but I have acquainted the rest of [310] the magistrates with your letter who are all readie to gather up sufficient testimonie to prove what you spake to the Protector, and enough to satisfie (we doubt not) your opponent, if he be a lover of the truth. Onlie we would have the generall court act with us therein, which will not meete till September next, when I hope I shall procure a full answer to your former and last letters. What the end is of that point of state to make the Protector king I cannot fathom it, unlesse their proffering and his deniall thereof ingratiate him the more in the hearts of the people. The Lord in mercie guide all to his glorie and the good of those commonwealths over which²⁷ he hath set him. If there be an opportunitie I pray write a word or two about it, and other occurrences that may fall out. I cannot be sufficientlie thankful for what you writt unto me last. Great motions there are in the world, which the Lord direct and turne to his glorie, the overthrow of his enemies and the peace and welfare of his owne people. Which is the prayer of

Sir,

Your verie loving friend and servant

Jo. Endecott.

Boston this 29th of the 4 mo. 1657.

Copy

²⁶ Clark and Holmes were Baptists. They had both been fined and one of them whipped, refusing to submit to the fine. H.

²⁷ *Whom* in former edition. A.

Copy of a Letter²⁸ from Mr. John Leverett to Governor
Endecott.

Sir,

YOUR commands²⁹ of the 29th, 4th, 57, by my wife, was all I received the last yeare past from your worship or the honored court, save onely one, at the same tyme, from Mr. Secretary as a cover to a petition and some papers concerning the actings of Providence men and Chafmors³⁰ rescue from the marshall. The reason I suppose hath beene the miscarriage of Mr. Garrat,³¹ whome hath not as yett beene heard of, so that I have not beene capable of attending any those commands that might be by you [311] sent unto me by him; and as the state of affayres hath hapened there hath not beene any prejudise; for although upon the fitting of the last parliament, at their meeting in January, I receyved intelligence of something prepareing to be moved in the house respecting the eastern parts under your jurisdiction, whatever it was, it mett with prevention by his Highnes the Lord Protectors dissolving of that assembly, so that as yet I have not heard of any thing moved to his Highnes nor councell, though some are solliciting to that end, but so soone as any thing is upon motion I shall heare of it, and doubt not but to give such answer as shall hinder any proceeding that might be to the prejudice of your government. Sir, There lately past an order of the councell to be confyrmed by his Highnes, for the impowering of you, calling to your assistance such as you shall judge meet, for the examination of the accounts presented by me to his Highnes and councell, which was kept by Mr. Tho. Lake, concerneing the forts, the which with a letter unto you will not have dispatch by this ship, by the next
it

²⁸ The original is in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. A.

²⁹ *Yours* in former edition. A.

³⁰ *Cheefmans* in former edition. A.

³¹ A ship with many passengers of note and effects of great value which failed from New-Haven. *Massa. Hist. Vol. I. p. 85.* H.

it may, which will be about a month or fixe weekes hence ; the favour that I crave from your worship is, that you will please to give a dispatch thereunto, for that though an order is passed for my receipt of the money due upon the faide account, yet I am necessitated, upon what ground I knowe not, to give in bond for the makeing payment of what shall appeare due to be repayed upon that account to the state. When the order is compleated and your letter, I shall make bold to give you further trouble herein for newes.

London, 16 Ap. 1658.

Copy of a Letter³² from Mr. John Leverett to Governor Endecott.

Sir,

THESE are to accompany a letter from his Highnes and counsell to you, empowering of you to examine the accounts kept by Mr. Tho. Lake, and presented by me [312] of disbursements and receipts for the carrying on his Highnes service at the forts taken from the French in America, a hint whereof I gave you by my last of the 16th current ; in the letter you are desired³³ to call Col. Temple or give him notice thereof, by whose occasion it is, as I suppose, that I meet with this trouble, and if he have nothing of desygne but the gayneing of tyme, upon the state, for his paymeent according to his engagements (the which some of his instruments hath confessed to me was aymed at by him) I know not why he should found his owne accommodation upon my real prejudice at present, though I knowe the Lord can turne it to advantage. Sir, my desyre is that you will please to give me favour by your dispatch ; for though I may get an order for my

³² The original is in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. A.

³³ Required in former edition. A.

my money, yet not without giving good security by bond, the which I must have lye out untill returne from you. Mr. Tho. Lake kept the accounts (I have onely had the honour in disburseing the money and am like to have the trouble in getting of it in) What I presented to his Highnes and councell I had from Mr. Lake subscribed by him, and is within³⁴ I doubt not his ability and readynes to cleare up whatever may be objected by any, (I know not of any thing unjustly charged either debtor or creditor) he sent vouchers for what was charged, which past the examination of the commissioners of the navy; the principals or coppies I suppose he hath in his hands ready to produce at your command. I shall not further enlarge, but still prefs for a dispatch, that returne may be made by you to the councell what you finde therein, and that you will be pleased to favour me with a copy thereof, which is noe more than I have had from all referees to whome my busines hath been referred from tyme to tyme; and this I mention, not questioning your readynes to favour me what justly you may, but that what I doe desire is customary and allowed to all in their busynes.

Sir, I shall send another letter from his Highnes and councell, as also of these by another conveyance, for that I had twoe letters of the same date sygned and sealed at [313] the same tyme delivered me to convey because of the hazard of sea passage. Not further to trouble but with my humble service remayne Sir your humble servant,

London 27 April 1658.

J. L.

³⁴ *What* in former edition. A.

Copy of a Letter³⁵ from Mr. Secretary Rawson to Capt.
John Leverett.

Honored Sir,

THOUGH I have writt to you severall tymes by your good³⁶ wife, per Mr. Garrett, &c. yett have receaved no lyne from you, yett cannot but by so fitt an opportunity and messenger present my best respects to you and your wife, and acquaint you that our generall court in June last wrote a letter to his Highnes the Lord Protector in answer unto his, which however they brake up and gave me no order about it, yet have I inclosed it with a copie thereof unto you, and desire your carefull³⁷ faythfull and speedy delivery thereof, as per the contents you will perceave there is neede. I hope when our court meets againe in October there will be a more full accompt and particular relation thereto. Here being no news with us but what the bearer, your speciall good friend and couzin, Mr. Edw. Ting, can and will give you more ample satisfaction in than if I had specified the same, commending you in all your weighty occasions to the Lords blessing and guidance rest Sir,

Yours to serve you,

Boston, 13 Sept. 1658.

Edward Rawson, Sec.

[314] Copy of a petition of the inhabitants of Yorke, Kittery, Wells, &c. presented 27th of October 1658, to his Highnes the Lord Protector.

To his Highnes the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, and dominions thereunto belonging.

The

³⁵ The original is in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. A.

³⁶ Omitted by Hutchinson. A.

³⁷ Omitted by Hutchinson. A.

The humble petition of severall the inhabitants of the townes of Yorke, Kittery, Wells, Saco and Cape Porpus, sometymes under the provincially government of Mayne and Lygonia, now under the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts in New England,

Humbly sheweth,

WHEREAS as information doth report unto us of severall addressees lately made unto your Highnes, by some gentlemen of worth, for restitution of their right of jurisdiction over us, claimed by theyr patents, the determination whereof (we humbly conceive) after a legall hearing, rests upon your pleasure, wherein ourselves not being so properly concerned as others, at present, doe purposely wave, craving onely to present your Highnes with a true narrative, though implicate, of our first and last estate, before and since we had this government which through Gods mercy we now enjoy to our good satisfaction, and for our continued settlednes under it we daily pray, for these reasons.

First, Because of ourselves we have small power to carry on government, being a people but few in number, and those not competent persons to manage such weighty affayres, our weakenes occasioning distraction, our paucity division, our meanes contempt, as our owne former experience hath fully evinced to the totall subverting all civill order amongst us.

2dly, Because chainges cannot reduce things from impossibilities to make things, of such as are not, to be, the case is ours, the places of our residence admit but of small [315] enlargement, the generality of the country from us eastward is so confusedly taken up with uninhabitable beings of sterile lands, swamps and rocky mountaynes, as not more than a few shreds are left by the sea shore fitt for cohabitation, and those already populated by an inconsiderate number of people.

ple. How the wisest of such who desyer superintendency over us can settle a well governed commonwealth upon such basis we leave to your wisdom to judge.

3dly, Because changes in these tymes may prove dangerous, where discontented spirits wayte for such opportunities, which have not beene the least part of that small number amongst us who were professed royalists, whose breathings that way, since our subjecting to this authority, have beene so far stifled, as that the activity of such spirits cannot fynde any, or the least opportunity of motion.

4thly, Because we feare the hurtfulness of our change. As our government now is, our persons and estates stand under the security of wholesome lawes, watchfull governors, the fathers of our nourishment and peace, whose pyous care not onely tollerates but maynetaynes us the purest institutions for the encouragement of godly persons, both ministers and others, to reside amongst us, but changing it may throw us backe into our former estate, to live under negligent masters, the dainger of a confused anarchy, and such other inconveniencies as may make us a fitt shelter for the worst of men, delinquents and ill affected persons to make their recourse unto, thereby to exempt themselves from their just deserved punishments.

5thly, Changes are apt to inihilate, unless they prove much for the better, especially in weake boddies, where heades are far remote; touching such events our former experience hath taught us something, else we crave of those gentlemen who are now so solicitous for government over us, what ment the deepness of theyr sylence severall yeares, both in theyr tongues and pennis, as not after our frequency of writing to them they not so much as returne us one sylable of answer, or afford us the least assistance in go [316] vernment; the want whereof let us sincke into great distractions, for our recovery thence severall amongst us petitioned for government to the collony of the Massachusetts, who after
some

some debate with us and confirmation of some articles of agreement to us, tooke us under theyre authority, unto which we subscribed and subjected ourselves, and under whose protection to continue we account it not the least part of our security and happinesse.

6thly. Because we conceive the confirming the Massachusetts patten in its due extent, in respect of its antiquity, nulls all after pattenes whatsoever, as fully in titles of lands as of government, from both which we expect æqual freedome by their just interests and our owne subjection.

Our humble request therefore is, that your Goodness would favour our reasonable entreatyes, whose weakenes calls for support, our manners for some strictness of rule, whose distractions for some present settlement wherein our voate is that it may be as it is under the government of the Massachusetts, against which if changes should interpose our inevitable troubles would follow. Our condition as it was in part, and as it now stands, lyes really before your gracious eye, although not so methodically presented, for which we hope our ignorance will excuse us. Touching which if your Highness expect any further information we beseech your commands herein for a pious and reverend friend of ours, Mr. John Wheelwright, sometymes of us, now in England, unto whome our estate is well knowne and is able fully to satisfie any enquiries therein.

Craving pardon for our overmuch boldnes and prolixity, as our duties are, so pray we for the Almightyes protection to secure your person, his spiritt to guide, his gracious blessing to crowne your high and memorable endeavours with continued succes for the advancement of his owne glory and kingdom, and your happines here and eternally.

[317] Copy of a Letter³⁸ from Capt. John Leverett to Mr. Secretary Rawson.

Worthy Sir,

YOURS of 13 September received with the enclosed to his Highnes the Lord Protector, dated 10th June 58. Now such was the good pleasure of the Most High, that the Protector, whose commands occasioned that letter in returne, was gathered to his fathers before that came from you, he dyed the 3d September. Upon the 4th his eldest son the Lord Richard was proclaimed Protector, to whome I made my application on the behalfe of the country that day fortnight after; agayne, upon receipt of the generall courts letter, I applyed myselfe to his Highnes and presented the said letter the 27th day of October, he was pleased to open and read the letter in my hearing, and then gave me assurance as formerly that he had a deep sence how deare the people of N. E. were to his deare father, and that he should be ready in all things to lay forth himself for the good of that people. After my humble thanks returned on the countrys behalfe, I presented a copy of the petition from Pascataqua and Yorke inhabitants (Mr. Godfrey being active about his complaints, the which he still prosecutes and hath procured a reference) his Highnes said he would read the same and consider thereof at more leifurable tyme than he had at that present; so that I doubt not but whatever Mr. Godfrey may doe we shall be able to give such answer as to prevent prejudice to the courts actings as to those parts. For the letter his late Highnes sent, it was procured by a gentleman attends his Highnes; it being drawne up and made ready for signing, and so tooke his opportunity; the secretary hath promised if any thing in future be upon motion refering to the country I shall have notice thereof while I abide here: For state of affaires at present, we are at peace and the great chaynge hath as yett little

³⁸ The original is in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. A.

little of the face of chaynge in it; his present Highnes gayneing upon [318] all that apply themselves to him; writs for a parliament are out; calling them according to the old manner as in anno 40; they are to sit the 27th January; the Dutch sending Lord Opdam with a fleet of nye 40 saile and 4000 men to assist the Danes, was encountered by the Sweeds and well battered; vice-admiral De Wit, the best commander for sea³⁹ the Dutch has, mortally wounded, taken his ship and all in her, six more the Dutch lost, most dismabled, their admiral Opdam hardly escaping with 5 foot water in hold; since this conflict his Highnes hath sent a fleet of 20 saile of fregates, under the command of vice admiral Gadson, to assist the Sweed; Sir George Afcue with 300 English commanders and officers gone with him to be commanders in the Sweeds fleet; but the frost in those parts hath been so hard that neither one nor the other could seize the land, as its said. The English agent, Mr. Downing,⁴⁰ and French embassador⁴¹ hath put in their memorandums at the Hague, in name of their masters, that the Dutch desist assistance to continue hostilities betweene the northerne kings, and to provoke them to endeavour a mediation. Upon which the Dutch have recalled some forces intended and are upon sending to mediate a peace.

December 25. 1658.

Copy

³⁹ Hutchinson omits these two words. A

⁴⁰ Sir George Downing, who a few years before went from New-England. H

⁴¹ Omitted by Hutchinson. A.

Copy of a Letter⁴² from the Commissioners of the united Colonies to Peter Stuyvesant the Dutch Governor at Manhattoes.⁴³

Much honoured Sir,

WEE presume you have heard from the people of the fort of Aurania, that some of the English have beene lately in those parts upon discovery of some meete places for plantations within the bounds of the pattent of the Massachusetts colonie, which from the latitude of 42 or 42 and 30 minutes, and so northerly, extends itselſe from [319] east to west in longitude through the maine land of America from the Atlanticke ocean to the south or west sea. And we understand that the government of the Massachusetts have graunted libertie to some of their people to erect a plantation in these parts and intend to effect the same, yet without intrenchment upon the Dutch rights, and foreseeing some difficulties to beginne a plantation such a distance by land and that the passage up Hudsons river would very much accommodate them in their designe, wee have thought good on their behalfe to desire libertie of free passage for their said planters by your townes and forts upon the said river to the said land, they demeaning themselves peaceably and paying such moderate duties as may be expected in such cases, which being so concordant to reason and the custom of civill nations living in amitie, doth beget in us a confidence that you will be very flow (by an unreasonable denyall) to interrupt the neighbourly correspondency that hath beene betwixt the English and Dutch colonies: For the exact bounds of the Massachusetts pattent wee leave to that government to cleare, onely wee conceive the agreement at Hartford, that the English should not come within ten miles of Hudsons river doth not prejudice the right of the Massachusetts in the upland country, nor give any right to the Dutch

⁴² This is printed in Plymouth Colony Records, Vol. x, 220. A.

⁴³ Massa. Hist., Vol. I. p. 159. H.

Dutch there, that agreement intending onely the differences betwixt Conecticott and Newhaven and yourselves on the sea coast, there being at that time no difference betweene you and the Massachusetts, and neither Conecticott or Newhaven pretending any right to the lands up the country within the line aforesaid.

Sir, be pleased to returne your answer to Mr. Endecott, governour of the Massachusetts, from whome wee may understand your resolution. The Lord direct your thoughts to wayes of peace, that amitie and good neighbourhood may be continued with

Sir,

Your loving friends and neighbours,
The Commissioners of the united Colonies.

Hartford, 7 Sept. 59.

Signed by all the Commissioners.

[320] Copy of a Letter⁴⁴ from the General Court to Mr. John Leverett in London.

Sir,

WE have received your letter of October 58, with the petition of Mr. George Rigby, &c. have considered the contents of both, and have herewith sent you a copie of our patent, and of the extent of our lyne taken by attests, with severall other writings and letters to friends in reference thereunto, which we desire and hope may be improved to our advantage, and judge it convenient, if there be a fitt opportunitie and friends propitious for us, that it may have⁴⁵ a speedy issue. Some considerations we thought good to suggest, which you may make use of as there shall be occasion; as first, from the expresse words of the pattent that determines our northerly bounds, which our generall court hath always understood

⁴⁴ The original is in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. A.

⁴⁵ *Be* in former edition. A.

understood to meane as you know, as also one other passage in the pattend where it is said that any thing of doubtfull interpretation shall be understood in favour of the grantees.⁴⁶ 2dly, At our first coming hither into this wilderness, and for some yeares after, multitude of occasions in the beginning of so great an undertaking did hinder our exact taking notice of our laying claim to the utmost extents of our limits, especially to the norward, nor had we for some time after our coming hither occasion to make use thereof, yet did we never sett up our bounds 3 myles east of Merimack, as the petition mentions, but as occasion was given have always asserted the same limits that now we claim, though we knew not certainly (till tryall made) where it would fall. In the meane time, severall persons procured pattendts of certaine tracts of land within the limits formerly graunted us, all or most whereof were obtained surreptitiously and illegally, and afterwards ordered and governed as unduely, the pattendtees chiefly ayming at trade or private profit, neglecting the chiefe end intended, and declared in his [321] Majesty's original graunt, whence it came to passe that there were severall pettie governments, sometimes by pattend, sometimes by combination, and sometimes the people left in distraction and confusion without any, and in great danger and hazard of shedding one anothers blood, whereupon first divers of the inhabitants of Paskataqua, about the year petitioned this court that as they were conceived to be within our lyne, so they might be actually taken in and governed by us, which accordingly was done by commissioners⁴⁷ sent from this court, with the generall⁴⁸ consent and good liking of all the inhabitants and persons interested therein, and so have continued with much satisfaction, living in peace and enjoying the fruit and benefitt of good government to this day. In the yeare we took a more exact survey of our limits, and finding those easterly parts mentioned

⁴⁶ *Patentees* in former edition. A.

⁴⁷ *Commissions* in former edition. A.

⁴⁸ Omitted by Hutchinson. A.

tioned in the petition to fall within our pattent (which is more ancient and more authenticke than any other pretended to by the petitioners) we made declaration thereof to the inhabitants residing within the aforesaid precincts, being likewise petitioned so to doe by divers of the inhabitants beyond Paskataqua river, now called Yorkshire, and after some agitation and conference with the rest of the people there, we came to a friendly and amicable conclusion, that as they were within our pattent so they would forever be subject to this government, wherein they are well satisfied and find the benefit thereof, as their petition to his Highnes doth declare; nor was it matter of profit that moved us hereunto, for we have neither received or expected any thereby, but the obligation of dutie that lay upon us to see the people within our pattent governed according to God, and hath been our diligent care and indeavour, and so shall allwayes be, that all just possessions and improvements shall be preserved and confirmed to the true proprietors there, as it is amongst the rest of the inhabitants that have bene under our government from the beginning. There are severall other scattered inhabitants that live betwixt our lyne and Colonel Temple's, some whereof observing the benefit their [322] neighbours have reaped by good government, have offered themselves to us, which yet wee are slow to accept of, because without our limits, which we desire not to enlarge, but conceive it would much conduce to the peace and wellfaire of the English in these parts, if they were layd to Col. Temple's jurisdiction or this, if his Highnes please so to order it (as we have intimated in our letter to my Lord Fienes, &c.)

Concerneing those letters from persons of honour, alledged by Mr. Godfrey to have been sent to the governour and magistrates in favour of him, wee never received and so could returne no answer, and for himselfe, he was one of those that did submit to this government, accepted of commission from hence and tooke the oath of freemen, and that
without

without any force or compulsion at all, none being used towards him or any other, as is unduely suggested in the petition; and it is no strange thing that Mr. Winthrop,⁴⁹ Mr. Dudley, &c. should long since, before our limitts were exactly knowne, seeme to owne those for distinct governments which in truth were none, but included in this of ours, as upon the running of our lyne did manifestly appeare.

Sir, the governour and magistrates ordered me to forbear sending the copies mentioned in this letter till the next ship, the ship being nigh under saile. Accept of my service to you and good Mrs. Leverett, who am

Sir, Your very ho.⁵⁰ friend,
Edward Rawson, Secretary.

By order of the Generall Court.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. John Leverett to Governor
Endecott and the Generall Court.

London, 13 September 1660.

Sir,

IT may seeme a kynde of immodest importunity in me to reiterate my scribbles to you as I have done and not have any returne, or a fylent charging of your neglect [323] of your and the countryes concerns that neyther my selfe nor any other for you can heare from you; the consideration whereof had almost wrought me to a resolve of neglecting this opportunity of presenting my due respects in giving you any account of others motions in England concerneing you; but lest you should have cause of chargeing me with neglect I have set pen to paper, to let you understand what I heare in relation
to

⁴⁹ *Winslow* in former edition. The Ms. is plain. A.

⁵⁰ Hutchinson makes this *truly honouring*. A.

to New England. The complaynants against you to the Kings majesty, as I am informed, are Mr. Godfrey and that company, Mr. Reckes and Sefford and company of iron workes, some of the sometymes fyned and imprisoned petitioners, whose thought, first, to have made their complaynts severally, after, resolved in joint by petition; moved to have the quakers and anabaptists joyned but they refused. I have endeavoured to have a sight of their petition but cannot procure it; but am informed that, having mentioned the articles they petition for, the distance of place does not admit of a way of hearing as being nigher it might. They move that a generall governour may be sent to give reliefe to them. To this petition they get what hands they can of persons that have been in New England, though never inhabitants. The quakers I heare have been with the King concerning your putting to death those of their friends executed at Boston. The generall vogue of people is that a governour will be sent over. Other rumours there are concerning you, but I omitt them, not knowing how to move and appeare at court on your behalfe, I made bold to address myself to the Lord Say and desired his favour that in case of complaynts to his majesty he would be your friend, so far as to desire his majesty that you might be heard before any thing were determined concerning you as to judgment. His lordship professed his great respect for the plantations and thanked God he prayed for you dayly, promising to improve his interest according to my motion. I likewise addressed myselfe to the Earle of Manchester, Lord Chamberlaine, who promised the like. By the ships that are expected I perceive that [324] some of those that complaine doe expect that you will empower some to appeare for you, and thereupon make some demurr in their prosecution, but if that be not, then they intend to have something done against the spring of the yeare. The peace with Spayne was proclaimed in London 11th instant, upon the same articles concluded in his late

majestyes tyme. Episcopacy, common prayer, boweing at the name of Iesus, signe of the crofs in baptisme, the altar and organs are in use and like to be more. The Lord keepe and preserve his churches that there may not be fainting in a day of tryall. With the presentment of all due respects, begging your prayers, commend you to the greate God, and remaine

Yours in all faithfulness to serve you,
John Leverett.

Copy of a Letter from Governor Endecott to Capt.
John Leverett in London.

Sir,

BY the former shippes you will receive letters to two noble persons, by this we have sent a petition to his Majesty, and a petition to the parliament, for the delivery and prosecution whereof we have thought meete to desire your helpe, and our former experience of your readines therein, which we cannot but with much thankfullnes acknowledge, doth perswade us to rely upon your fidelitie of improving your interest and paines so long as your owne occasions shall detain you there, for which we shall not only acknowledge ourselves your debtors but be ready to discharge ourselves by the first opportunitie when your own occasions shall call you thence. We have desired Mr. Saltonstall and Mr. Ashurst to take the care of the prosecution of our busines according to the instructions which [325] we herewith send, which we desire you to attend and shall pray for your good acceptance and succeffe therein, and remain,

Sir your affured loving friend,
Jo. Endecott.

Boston 19th October 1660.

Sir,

Sir, Accept of my respects and service to you and your wife. These only are copies of the former sent by Mr. Kullams vessell and Col. Croune. I pray hasten the delivery of the petitions, nothing else, but that I am,

Your assured though afflicted friend,

Edw. Rawson, Secr.

Copy⁵¹ of the General Courts Address to the King.

To the High and Mighty Prince Charles the second, by the Grace of God King of Great Brittain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

Most gracious and dread soveraigne,

MAY it please your Majesty, in the day wherein you happily say you know you are King over your British Israel, to cast a favourable eye upon your poore Mephibosheth, now and, by reason of lameness in respect of distance, not untill now appearing in your presence, wee mean upon New England, kneeling with the rest of your subjects before your Majestie as her restored King. Wee forget not our ineptness as to these approaches; wee at present owne such impotence as renders us unable to excuse our impotency of speaking unto our Lord the King; yet contemplating such a King who hath also seen adversity, that he knoweth the hearts of exiles, who himself hath been an exile, the aspect of Majesty, extraordinarily influenced, animateth exanimated outcasts, yet outcasts as wee hope for the truth, to make this address unto their Prince, hoping to find grace in your sight. Wee present this [326] script, the transcript of our loyall hearts, into your royall hands, wherein we crave leave to supplicate your Majesty for your gracious protection of us
in

⁵¹ This is printed in the Massachusetts Records, Vol. IV, 450. A.

in the continuance both of our civill as of our religious liberties (according to the grantees known end of suing for the pattent) conferred upon this plantation by your royall father. This, this, viz. our libertie to walke in the faith of the gospell with all good conscience, according to the order of the gospell (unto which the former in these ends of the earth is but subservient) was the cause of our transporting ourselves with our wives, little ones, and our substance, from that pleasant land over the Atlantick ocean into the vast wilderness, choosing rather the pure scripture worship with a good conscience in this remote wilderness among the heathen, than the pleasures of England with submission to the impositions of the then so disposed and so far prevailing hierarchy, which we could not doe without an evill conscience. For this cause we are this day in a land which lately was not sowne, wherein we have conflicted with the sufferings thereof much longer than Jacob was in Syria. Our witness is in heaven that we left not our native country upon any dissatisfaction as to the constitution of the civill state. Our lot, after the example of the good old nonconformists, hath been only to act a passive part throughout these late vicissitudes and successive overturnings of states. Our seperation from our brethren in this desert hath been and is a sufficient bringing to mind the afflictions of Joseph: But providentiall exemption of us hereby from the late warres and temptations of either party we account as a favour from God; the former cloaths us with sackcloth, the latter with innocency. What reception, courtesy and equanimity, those greater, and others, adherers to the royall interest, who in their adverse changes visited these parts, were entertained with amongst us, according to the meanness of our condition, we appeal to their own reports.

Touching complaints put in against us, our humble request only is, that for the interim, while we are as dumb by reason of our absence, your Majesty would permit no-[327]
thing

thing to make an impression on your royall heart against us, untill we have both opportunity and leave to answer for ourselves: Few will be innocent,⁵² said that impleader, if it be enough to deny: Few will be innocent, said the then Emperor, if it be enough to accuse. Concerning the quakers, open and capitall blasphemers, open seducers from the glorious Trinity, the Lord Jesus Christ, our Lord Jesus Christ, the blessed gospell, and from the holy scriptures as the rule of life, open enemies to the government itselfe as established in the hands of any but men of their owne principles, malignant and assiduous promoters of doctrines directly tending to subvert both our church and state, after all other meanes for a long time used in vaine, we were at last constrained for our owne safety to passe a sentence of banishment against them, upon pain of death. Such was their dangerous and impetuous and desperate turbulence both to religion and state civill and ecclesiasticall, as that how unwillingly soever (could it have been avoyded) the magistrate at last, in conscience both to God and man, judged himself called for the defence of all, to keep the passage with the point of the sword held towards them, this could do no harm to him that would be warned thereby, their wittingly rushing themselves thereupon was their owne act, we with all humility conceive a crime bringing their blood upon their owne head. The quakers died, not because of their other crimes how capitall soever, but upon their superadded presumptuous and incorrigible contempt of authority breaking in upon us, notwithstanding their sentence of banishment made known to them; had they not been restrained, so far as appeared, there was too much cause to fear that we ourselves must quickly have died or worse, and such was their insolency that they would not be restrained, but by death; nay, had they at last but promised to depart the jurisdiction, and not to returne without leave from authority, we should have been glad of such an opportunity to have said they should not dye. Let not the king hear
mens

⁵² In the Records this is printed *nocent*, which is of course right. A.

mens words, your servants are true men fearing of God and the king, not given to change, [328] zealous of government, order, orthodox and peaceable in Israell; we are not seditious as to the interest of Cæsar; nor schismaticks as to the matters of religion, we distinguish between churches and their impurity, between a living man, though not without sickness or infirmity, and no man; irregularities either in ourselves or others we desire to be amended, we could not live without the publick worship of God, nor permitted the publick worship without such a yoke of subscription and conformities we could not consent unto without sin. That we might therefore enjoy divine worship without humane mixtures, without offence to God, man, our owne consciences, with leave but not without teares departed from our country, kindred and fathers houses into this Pathmos, in relation whereunto we do not say our garments are become old by reason of the very long journey, but that ourselves, who came away in our strength, are by reason of long absence many of us become grey-headed, and some of us stooping for age. The omission of the prementioned injunctions together with the walking of our churches as to the point of order, the congregational way is it wherein we desire our orthodox brethren would beare with us.

Sir, We lye not before your sacred Majestie. The Lord God of Gods, the Lord God of Gods knoweth, and Israel he shall know, if it were in rebellion or schism that we wittingly left our dwellings in our owne country for dwellings in this strange land, save us not this day.

Royall Sir, If according to this our humble petition and good hope, the God of the spirits of all flesh, the father of mercy, who comforteth the abjects, shall make the permission of the bereavement of that all (for which we have and do suffer the loss of all precious, so precious in our sight) as that your royall heart shall be inclined to shew unto us the kindness of the Lord in your Highnesses protection of us in those

those liberties for which we hither came, which hitherto we have here enjoyed, upon Hezekiahs speaking comfortably to us, as sonnes, this orphan shall not continue fatherles, but grow up as a revived [329] infant under a nursing father, these churches shall be comforted, a door of hope opened by so signall a pledge of the lengthning of their tranquility, these poor naked Gentiles, not a few of whom through grace are come and coming in, shall still see their wonted teachers (with encouragement of a more plentiful increase of the kingdome of Christ) amongst them, and the blessing of the poor, afflicted (and yet we hope) a people trusting in God, shall come upon the head and heart of that great King who was sometimes an exile as we are. With the religious stipulation of our prayers we, prostrate at your royall feet, beg pardon for this our boldnes, craving finally that our names may be enrolled amongst

Your Majesties most humble subjects and suppliants,
John Endicot, Governor.

In the name and by the order of the generall court
of the Massachusetts.

Copy⁵³ of the General Court's Instructions to Capt.
John Leverett their Agent in England.

* At a Generall Court held at Boston in New-England, 19th
December 1660.

Instructions for our honoured and loving friend Captain
John Leverett, or in his absence Richard Saltonstall and
Henry Ashurst, Esqrs.

1. **T**O take the first opportunity that may be, in the best
and most acceptable manner, to deliver the pe-
titions,

⁵³ This is printed in Massachusetts Records, Vol. IV, 455. The petition to Parliament may be read there. A.

titions, herewith sent, to his Majestie and high. court of Parliament.

2. To interest as many gentlemen of worth in parliament, or that are neere his Majestie, as possibly you may, to owne and favour our cause, and to beget in them a good opinion of us and our proceedings.

[330] 3. By all possible meanes to gett speedy and true information of his Majesties sense of our petition and of the government and people here, together with the like of the parliament.

4. If the King or parliament should demand what those priviledges are which wee desire the continuance of, your answer may be, all those which are graunted us by pattent and that wee have hitherto enjoyed in church and common wealth, without any other power imposed over us, or any other infringement of them, which would be destructive to the ends of our coming hither. As also that no appeale may be permitted from hence in any case civill or criminall, which would be such an intollerable and unsupportable burthen as this poore place (at this distance) are not able to undergoe, but would render authoritie and government vaine and uneffectuall, and bring us into contempt with all fortes of people. And if you find the King and parliament propitious to us, to use your utmost endeavours for the renewing that ordinance that freed us from customs 10th March 42.⁵⁴

5. Upon any matter of complaint, by any of his Majesties subjects or others, relating to the bounds and limitts of our pattent, our humble desire is that wee may have notice thereof and liberty to answer for ourselves (before any determination or conclusion be made against us) which being done, wee shall finally acquiesse in such issue as his Majesty, the high court of parliament, or any substituted by them, shall put thereto.

6. If

⁵¹ Mass. Hist. Vol. I. p. 114. H.

6. If any particular be alledged relating to the iron-workes, the answer is, It was first heard and judged in an inferiour court and afterwards upon a full hearing and due consideration by the generall court, who gave judgment impartially, according to the pleas and evidences then produced, and shall be ready, if desired, upon new evidences and better pleas to allow another hearing thereof, and for further and more particular answer hereunto wee must referr you to what you know or hath binn formerly informed from hence.

[331] 7. Concerning our proceedings against the Quakers, our answer is contained in our printed declaration and petition to his Majestie, which wee hope will satisfy, but if there should be any designe to encourage their coming hither or his Majestie be induced to permitt them their liberty heere (which God forbid) wee intreate you, above all things else, to use your utmost interest to prevent, as being destructive to our being heere and so contrary to our consciences to permitt, and no lesse oppression of us than the destroying both us and ours by the sword.

8. To give us as full intelligence as may be by the first opportunity of all matters that concerne⁵⁵ what you conceive necessary to be done for our advantage.

9. If any objection be made that wee have forfeited our pattent in severall particulars, you may answer that you desire to know the particulars objected and that you doubt not but a full answer will be given thereto in due season.

10. Finally, It is our meaning that if in publick you or either of you be called to answer to these or to any other particulars, that you give them to understand that wee could not empower any agent to act for or answer in our behalfe, because wee could not foresee the particulars wherewith wee should be charged, but these are only private intimations to yourselves, which wee desire you to make use of for our indemnitie

⁵⁵ The Records supply the words necessary to the sense, viz., *us and*. A.

demitie as you best may in a more private way and personall capacitie.

By the courte,

Edward Rawson, Secretary.

Copy of the Elders Advice⁵⁶ about the Addressees.⁵⁷

Present, Mr. Willson, Mr. Mather, Mr. Syms, Mr. Norton, Mr. Elliott, Mr. Higginson, Mr. Thatcher, Mr. Shephard, Mr. Allen, Mr. Wilson, jun.

WHEREAS it pleased the honoured court to recommend some things to the consideration and advice of the elders here present, about the addressees intended, &c.

[332] 1. We acknowledge Gods singular prefence with the honourable council in what hath bin already written to those honourable persons.

2. That our allegiance and subjection to the kings majesty is to be acknowledged (as formerly it hath bin) and is contayned in the pattent itselſe, according to the true meaning thereof.

3. That an addreſs to the king his majesty, or to the parliament, or both together (things circumſtanced as they are) as ſeemeth good to the diſcretion of the court, is meet and ſeaſonable.

4. It is doubted by the moſt whether we be called (at this time) to declare (or pronounce) our judgment as concerning the confuſions by paſt however grievous.

5. That all due acknowledgement is to be made of the kings majesty in that high and ſoveraigne place, or moſt
rightful

⁵⁶ The original is in the library of the Maſſachuſetts Hiſtorical Society. A.

⁵⁷ A great number of Addreſſes were drawn and laid before the Court, but all were exceptionable, which occaſioned this call to the Elders for Advice. H.

rightful throne, is meet and necessary, yet how high the congratulations should be, considering things present and the sequels thereof (to God only known) we cannot apprehend.

6. Excepting what is here hinted (and some other lesser passages) we do embrace the draught made by Mr. Norton,⁵⁸ whose great and good paines therein we cannot but thankfully acknowledge, conceiving also the other writings to that end, to be pertinent and thankworthy, likewise.

This paper was presented by Mr. John Wilson, sen. to the honoured court on 21: December, 1660,⁵⁹ in the name of the elders present.

as attests,

Edward Rawson, Secr.

[333] Copy of a Letter from his Majesty King Charles II. to Governor Endecott.

C H A R L E S, R.

Trufty and well beloved.

WEE greet you well. It having pleased almighty God, after long trialls both of us and our people, to touch their hearts, at last, with a just sense of our right, and by their assistance to restore us peaceably and without blood to the exercise of our regall authority for the good and wellfare of the nations committed to our charge. We have made it our care to settle our lately distracted kingdoms at home, and to extend our thoughts to increase the trade and advantages of our colonies and plantations abroad. Amongst which as wee consider New-England to be one of the chiefest, having

⁵⁸ This was not accepted by the Court. The Address p. 325 was. H

⁵⁹ The date is omitted by Hutchinson. A.

having enjoyed and grown up in a long and orderly establishment, so wee shall not come behind any of our royall predecessors in a iust encouragement and protection of all our loving subjects there, whose application unto us, since our late happy restoration, hath been very acceptable, and shall not want its due remembrance upon all feasonable occasions ; neither shall we forget to make you and all our good people in those parts equal partakers of those promises of liberty and moderation to tender consciences expressed in our gracious declarations ; which though some persons in this our kingdom of desperate, disloyal and unchristian principles, have lately abused to the publick disturbance and their owne destruction, yet wee are confident our good subjects in New-England will make a right use of it, to the glory of God, their own spiritual comfort and edification. And so wee bid you farewell. Given at our court at Whitehall, the 15th day of February 1660, in the thirteenth year of our reigne.

Will. Morrice.

[334] Copy of a Report⁶⁰ made to Governor Endecott by Thomas Kellond and Thomas Kirke.⁶¹

Honourable Sir,

WEE according to your honours order departed in search after Col. Goffe and Whaley (persons declared traytors to his Majestie) from Boston May the 7th, 1661, about six a clock at night, and arrived at Harford the 10th day and repaired to Governour Winthrop and gave him your honours letter and his Majesties order for the apprehending of

⁶⁰ The original is in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. A.

⁶¹ Two young Merchants lately from England who were employed to make search for Whaley and Goffe, and seem to have been sincere in endeavouring to apprehend them, but care was taken that it should not be in their power. H.

of Col. Whaley and Goffe, who gave us an accompt that they did not stay there but went directly for New Haven, but informed us that one Symon Lobden guided them to the towne. The honourable Governour carried himselfe very nobly to us, and was very diligent to supply us with all manner of conveniences for the prosecution of them, and promised all dilligent search should be made after them in that jurisdiction, which was afterwards performed. The 11th day we arrived at Guildford and repaired to the Deputy Governor, William Leete, and delivered him your honours letter and the coppie of his Majesties order for the apprehending of the aforesaid persons, with whome at that time was severall persons. After the perusal of them, he began to read them audibly, whereupon wee tould him it was convenient to be more private in such concernements as that was; upon which, withdrawing to a chamber, he tould us he had not seene the two Colonels not in nine weekes. We acquainted him of the information we had received that they were at Newhaven since that time he mentioned, and thereupon desired him to furnish us with horses, &c. which was prepared with some delays, which wee tooke notice of to him, and after our parting with him out of his house and in the [335] way to the ordinary, came to us one Dennis Scranton and tould us he would warrant that Col. Goffe and Whaley, at the time of his speaking was harboured at the house of one Mr. Davenport, a minister at New-Haven, and that one Goodman Bishop of the towne of Guilford, was able to give us the lyke accompt, and that, without all question, Deputy Leete knew as much, and that Mr. Davenport had put in ten pounds worth of fresh provisions at one tyme into his house, and that it was imagined it was purposely for the entertainment of them.

And the said Scranton said further, That Goffe and Whaley should say that if they had but two hundred friends that would but stand by them, they would not care for Old

or

or New-England: Whereupon wee askt him if he would depose to that: He replied he would, that it was openly spoken by them in the head of a companie in the field a traineing. Which words was also confirmed by severall others, as also information that Goffe and Whaley was seene verie lately betwixt the houses of Mr. Davenport and one Jones, and it was imagined that one lay at one of their houses and the other at the others. Upon which wee went back to the Deputies and required our horses, with aide, and a power to search and apprehend them; horses was provided for us, but he refused to give us any power to apprehend them, nor order any other, and said he could doe nothing untill he had spoken with one Mr. Gilbert and the rest of the Magistrates: Upon which wee told him wee should goe to New-Haven and stay till wee heard from him, but before wee tooke horse the aforesaid Dennis Scranton gave us information, there was an Indian in the towne wanting, which he told us was to give notice of our coming. But to our certaine knowledge one John Megges was sent a horseback before us, and by his speedie and unexpected going so early before day was to give them an information, and the rather because by the delays was us'd it was breake of day before wee got to horse, soe hee got there before us; upon our suspicion wee required the Deputie that the said John [336] Meggs might be examined what his business was that might occasion his soe early going: To which the Deputie answered that hee did not know any such thing, and refused to examine him; and being at New-haven, which was on the 13th day, the Deputie arrived within two hours or thereabouts after us and came to us to the court chamber, where wee againe acquainted him with the information wee had received and that wee had cause to believe they were concealed in Newhaven, and thereupon wee required his assistance and aide for their apprehension: To which he answered that he did not believe they were. Whereupon wee desired him to impower us, or order others for

for it. To which he gave us this answer, That hee could not, nor would not make us magistrates: Wee replied, wee ourselves would personally adventure in the search and apprehension of them in two houses where wee had reason to imagine they lay hid, if they would give way to it and enable us: To which hee replied, Hee neither would, nor could not doe any thinge untill the freemen were met together. To which wee set before him the danger of that delay and their inevitable escape, and how much the honour and service of his Majestie was despised and trampled on by him, and that wee supposed by his unwillingness to assist in their⁶² apprehension, he was willing they should escape: After which hee left us and went to severall of the magistrates and were together five or six hours in consultation, and upon breaking up of their counsell, they told us, they would not nor could not doe any thing untill they had called a generall court of the freemen: Whereupon wee represented to them your Honours and Governour Winthrops warrants as presidents, who upon the receipte of his Majesties pleasure and order concerning the said persons, stood not upon such niceties and formallities, but endeavoured to make all expedition in seizing on them, if to bee found in their government, and also how your honour had recommended this grand affaire to him, and how much the honour and justice of his Majestie was concerned, and how ill his sacred Ma- [337] jestie would resent such horrid and detestable concealments and abettings of such traitors and regicides as they were, and askt him whether he would honour and obey the king or noe in this affaire, and sett before him the daunger which by law is incurred by any one that conceales or abetts traytors; to which the Deputie Leete answered, wee honour his Majestie, but wee have tender consciences.

To which wee replied, that wee believed that he knew where they were, and onely pretended tenderness of conscience

⁶² *The* in former edition. A.

science for a refusall: Upon which they drew into consultation againe, and after two or three houres spent, in the evening the Deputie and Magistrates came to us at the head of the staires in the ordinarie, and takes one of us by the hand and wisht he had binn a plowman and had never binn in the office, since he found it soe weghtie.

To which wee tould them, that for their respect to two traytors they would doe themselves injurie and possibly ruine themselves and the whole collony of Newhaven, and still continuing to presse them to their duty and loyaltie to his Majestie, and whether they would owne his Majestie or noe, it was answered, they would first knowe whether his Majestie would owne them.⁶³

This was the substance of our proceedings, there was other circumstantiall expressions which are too tedious to trouble your honour withall, and which wee have given your honour a verball accompt of, and conceive it needles to insit any further; and soe findeing them obstinate and pertenanceous in their contempt of his Majestie, we went⁶⁴ away the next day in prosecution after them, according to instructions, to the Governour of Manadàs, from whome wee received civill respects and a promise, if they were within his jurisdiction, wee should command and require⁶⁵ what ayde wee pleased, but for sending of them according to your honours request, hee could not answer it to his masters at home, but if they came there hee should give your honour timely notice: Whereupon we requested his honour the Go [338] vernour of Manadà to lay a restraint upon all shipping from transporting of them, which hee promised should be donne, and also to give order to his fiscall or chief officer to make private search in all vessells for them that were going thence.

Upon

⁶³ New-Haven was a government formed by a voluntary Combination, without any Charter, or Commission, or authority whatsoever from the Crown, or other Powers in England. H.

⁶⁴ *Came* in former edition. A.

⁶⁵ Omitted by Hutchinon. A.

Upon which, wee findeing any further⁶⁶ meanes would bee ineffectuall, wee made our returne hither by sea, to give your honour an accompt, and to which (when your honour shall require it) are ready to depose to the truth of it, and remaine

Sir,

Your honours humble servants,

Boston May 29th
1661.

Thomas Kellond,
Thomas Kirke.

30th May 1661.

Mr. Thomas Kellond and Mr. Thomas Kirke having delivered this paper to the Governour as theire returne, in answer to what they were imployde, depofed before the Governour and Magistrates that what is there exprest is the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth.

Per Edward Rawson, Secretary.

Copy of a Letter from Secretary Rawson to William Leete, Esq; Governour of New-Haven Jurisdiction.

Honoured Sir,

THE council of our jurisdiction being assembled the 4th instant at Boston, ordered me to signify to you what lately they have received from England by Captain Leverett, his letter bearing date 12th April 1661, who tells us that however our addresse to his Majesty came seasonably and had a gracious answer, yett many complaints and claims are multiplied against us, and that wee are like to heare from his Majesty's committee what those [339] complaints are, and what is expected from us; that an oath was produced against him

⁶⁶Other in former edition. A.

him for saying that rather then wee shuold or would admitt of appeales here, wee would or shuold sell the country to the Spaniards ; which though he absolutely denyed that ever he so said, and that if he shuold have so said he had wronged the country very much, some of the said committee said the words if spoken they were pardoned, but they looked at the words not so much his as the spirit of the country, and tho' againe he desired that the country might not suffer, in their minds, for what he knew was so much and so farre from them, as to thinke ought in any such respect, yet one of them proceeded to question him, whether if wee durst wee would not cast off our allegiance and subjection to his Majesty ; He answered, he did apprehend wee were honest men and had declared in our application to his Majesty the contrary, and therefore could not have such thoughts of us without the breach of charity ; that it is no lesse than necessary we had some able person to appeare for us, well furnished to carry on our busines, which will not be without money ; that the councill for plantations demanded of him whether wee had proclaimed the King and whether there was not much opposition to the agreeing of our application. He answered he knew not, only had heard Capt. Breaden say so, but humbly submitted to their consideration, that neither wee nor any other were to be concluded by debates but by our conclusions, which were sent and presented to his Majesty in our names. They tooke notice, from enquiry, that it was only from one colony, namely, Massachusetts, and have their considerations of the other colonies neglects, to speake most favourably thereof. Thus farr as to the letter. Further, I am required to signify to you as from them, that the non attendance with dilligence to execute the Kings majestys warrant for the apprehending of Colonel Whaley and Goffe will much hazard the present state of these colonies and your owne particularly, if not some of your persons, which is not a little afflictive to them. And that in their understanding

standing there remaines no way to ex [340] piate the offence and preserve yourselves from the danger and hazard but by apprehending the said persons, who as wee are informed are yett remaining in the colony and not above a fortnight since were seen there, all which will be against you. Sir, Your owne welfare, the welfare of your neighbours, bespeake your unwearied paines to free yourselfe and neighbours. I shall not add, having so lately by a few lines from our Governour and myselfe looking much this way communicated our sence and thoughts of your and our troubles, and have as yett received no return, but commend you to God and his rich grace, for your guidance and direction in a matter of such moment, as his Majesty may receive full and just satisfaction, the mouths of all opposers stopped and the profession of the truth that is in you and us may not in the least suffer by your actings is the prayer of

Sir,

Your assured loving friend,

Boston 4th July 1661.

Edward Rawson, Secretary.

In the name and by order of the councill.

Sir, Since what I wrote, news and certaine intelligence is come hither of the two colonells being at New Haven from Saturday to Monday and publicly knowne, and however it is given out that they came to furrender themselves and pretended by Mr. Gilbert that he looked when they would have come in and delivered up themselves, never setting a guard about the house nor endeavouring to secure them, but when it was too late to send to Totocut &c. Sir, How this will be taken is not difficult to imagine, to be sure not well ; nay, will not all men condemn you as wanting to yourselves, and that you have something to rely on, at least that you hope will answer your ends ? I am not willing

willing to meddle with your hopes, but if it be a duty to obey such lawfull warrants, as I believe it is, the neglect thereof will prove uncomfortable. Pardon me, Sir, its my desire you may regaine your peace (and if you please to [341] give mee notice when you will fend the two colonells) tho' Mr. Wood Greene is bound hence within a month, yet if you shall give me assurance of their coming I shall not only endeavour but doe hereby engage to cause his stay a fortnight, nay 3 weekes, rather than they should not be sent, expecting your answer, remaine

Sir, Your assured loving friend and servant,

Edward Rawfon.

Copy of an Address from the General Court to King
Charles II.⁶⁷

To the high and mighty Prince Charles the second, by the
grace of God King of Great Britaine, France and Ireland,
defender of the faith.

Illustrious Sir,

THAT majestie and benignitie both sate upon the throne whereunto your outcast made their former addresse, witnes this second eucharistical approach unto the best of kings, who to other titles of royaltie common to him with other gods amongst men, delighteth herein more peculiarly to conforme himselfe to the God of gods, in that he hath not despised nor abhorred the affliction of the afflicted, neither hath he hid his face from him, but when he cried he heard.

Our

⁶⁷ This Address, though it passed the whole Court, I don't find to have been sent. I have several others which were prepared on this occasion in much the same sort of Rhetorick. H.

Our petition was the representation of an exiles necessities, this script gratulatory and lowly is the reflection of the gracious rayes of christian majestie. There wee besought your favour by presenting to a compassionate eye that bottleful of teares shed by us in this Jeshimon: Here we also acknowledge the efficacie of regal influence to qualify these salt waters. The mission of ours was accompanied with these churches sitting in sackcloth, the reception of yours was as the holding forth of the scepter of life.

[342] The truth is, such were the impressions upon our spirits when we received an answer of peace from a gracious, from our gracious soveraigne, as transcends the facultie of an eremitical scribe. Such, as though our expressions of them neede pardon, yet the suppression of them seemeth unpardonable. A desert condition, in some sense, is an object fittest to magnify princely radiance, inferior whereto cannot make the wilderness rejoyce. Opaque bodies occasion the most luculent reflections. Affection makes a rhetorician. Cræsus's dumbe son speaks to prevent miserie, and Zedachiah's tongue breaketh loose to acknowledge mercie. It was a day wherein your people, who had forgot prosperitie, the people, the joy of whose heart was long ceased, was revived in the matters of their God. Life from death is so much the more sweet. Gospel libertie, truly so called, is sweeter than life, especially when rescued from its contrarie more bitter than death, and yet more edulcorated when resented as a signal pledge of the kindnes of the Lord in that evangelical promise kings shall be thy nursing fathers. It was a good day, and wee should not doe well to holde our tongue as concerning the heart consolations of your sad abjects, the affectionate benedictions of your most serene highnes tempered with tears of joy, when warmed with the influence of your royal favour
they

they, by way of congratulation, comforted themselves that the breath of our nostrils the anointed of the Lord hath escaped their pits of whom wee begin to say, under his shadow wee shall live amongst the heathen.

Wee are deeply sensible of your Majesty's intimation relating to instruments of Satan, acted by impulse diabolical. Venner (not to say whence he came to us) went out from us because he was not of us. God preserve your Majestie from all emissaries agitated by an infernal spirit, under what appellation soever disguised. Luther sometime wrote to the senate of Mulhoyfen to beware of the wolfe Muncer.

[343] Royal Sir, Your just title to the crown en-thronizeth you in our consciences, your graciousnes in our affections; that inspireth unto dutie, this naturalizeth unto loyaltie. Hence we call you Lord, hence a saviour. Mephibosheth, however prejudicially soever misrepresented, yet rejoyceth that the King is come in peace to his owne house. Nowe the Lord hath dealt well with our Lord the King, may New England under your royal protection be permitted still to sing the Lords song in this strange land. It shall be noe griefe of heart for the blessing, of a people ready to perish, dayly to come upon your Majestie, the blessing of your owne people, who (not here to alledge the innocencie of our cause, touching which let us live no longer than wee subject ourselves to an orderly tryall thereof) though, in the particulars of subscription and conformitie, supposed to be under the hallucinations of weak brethren, yet crave leave with all humility to say, whether the voluntarie quitting of our native and dearest country be not sufficient to expiate so innocent a mistake (if a mistake) let God, Angels, your Majestie and all good men judge.

Nowe he, in whose hand the times and tryals of all men are, who hath made your Majestie remarkably parallel to the
most

most eminent of Kings both for the space and kind of your troubles, so as that very day cannot be excepted wherein they drove him from abyding in the inheritance of the Lord, saying goe serve other gods, make you also (which is the crown of all) more and more like unto him in being a man after Gods owne heart, to doe whatsoever he will ; yea, as the Lord was with David, so let him be with your most excellent Majestie, and make the throne of King Charles the second both greater and better than the throne of King David, or than the throne of any of your royal progenitors.

So shall allwaies pray

Great Sir,

Your Majesties most humble and loyal subjects.

10 August 61.

[344] The deputies approve of this letter to be sent to his Majestie (the third section between the lines drawne only excepted) with reference to the consent of our honoured magistrates hereunto.

William Torrey, Cleric.

Consented to by the magistrates.

Edw. Rawson, Secretary.

Copy of a Declaration⁶⁸ of the Commissioners of the united Colonies concerning Whaley and Goffe.

WHEREAS it appeareth by his Majesties order directed to John Endecott, Esq; governour of the Massachusetts and to all other governours and magistrates in New-England, and by him communicated to the respective governours of the united colonies, for the apprehending of
Edward

⁶⁸ This is printed in Plymouth Colony Records, Vol. X, 269. A

Edward Whalley and William Goffe, who stand convicted of high treason for the horrid murder of his royall father, as is expressed in the said order, and exempted from pardon by the act of indemnity; in obedience whereunto dilligent search hath been made for the said persons in the severall colonies (as wee are informed) and whereas, notwithstanding, it is conceived probable that the said persons may remaine hide in some parts of New-England, these are therefore seriously to advice and forewarne all persons whatsoever within the said colonies, not to receive, harbour, conceal or succour the said persons so attainted, or either of them,⁶⁹ but that as they may have any knowledge or information where the said Whalley and Goffe are, that they forthwith make knowne the same to some of the governours or magistrates next residing, and in the mean time doe their utmost endeavour for their apprehending and securing, as they will answer the contrary at their utmost perill. And wee doe hereby declare that all such person or persons, that since the publication [345] of his Majesties order have wittingly and willingly entertained or harboured the aforefaid Whalley and Goffe, or hereafter shall doe the like, have and will incurre his Majesties highest displeasure, as is intimated in the said order, and will be accounted enemies to the publike peace and wellfaire of the united colonies, and may expect to be proceeded with accordingly.

By the commissioners of the united colonies at their meeting at Hartford, Sept. 5. 1661.

	Thomas Prince,
John Mafon,	Symon Bradstreete, .
Samuel Willis,	Daniel Denison,
William Leete.	Thomas Southworth.

Proceedings

⁶⁹ The words after *colonies* are omitted in the Records. A.

Proceedings of the Committee of the General Court appointed for the dispatch of Agents to England.⁷⁰

4 January 1661. Att a meeting of the committee at the Ancor taverne in Boston, in reference to the dispatch of the worshipful Symon Bradstreete and the reverend Mr. John Norton, messengers appointed by the general court to be sent to England.

Present, Daniel Gookin, Esq ;	Capt. Eliazer Lusher,
Thomas Danforth, Esq ;	Capt. Edw. Johnson,
	Mr. Joseph Hill.

The committee sending to the Deputy Governour, desiring his presence and assistance at this meeting, desired he might be excused and came not.

IT is ordered by this committee that the gentlemen chosen at the last and this sessions of the general court to raise money for the accommodating of the messengers [346] appointed to goe for England to negotiate with his Majesty in behalfe of the country, be hereby desired and impowered to raise fower hundred pounds sterling to be payde unto Symon Bradstreete, Esq ; and Mr. John Norton at London, within thirty days after their arrivall there, and also procure letters
of

⁷⁰ The colony at this time was divided upon the expediency of sending agents to England. The Governor and Deputy Governor were against it, and though appointed to be of the committee declined acting. The agents themselves seem to have been pressed into the service. They feared a long detention in England and were not sure that they were intirely free from danger of restraint upon their liberty. Complaints had been preferred against the colony from all quarters. Mr. Bradstreet had been a magistrate from the beginning. It was well known that the elders or clergy used to be consulted and had great influence in every affair of moment, and Mr. Norton was of that order and of great note. Besides, it was doubtful what would be the fate of the charter. If taken away they would not know where to obtain satisfaction for any extraordinary expence or trouble in England.

The proceedings of this committee contribute to a just idea of the state of the colony at this period. H.

of credit for the said messengers to take up in London what money more they may have occasion to use, not exceeding the sum of three hundred pounds. And it is further desired that the said committee be secret in the management of this affaire, so far as they possibly may, especially respecting the quantity of money procured. And further, wee advise and direct that the said some or somes of money be transmitted into the hands of Mr. Henry Ashurst, in trust for the purposes aforesaid, as also the said committee are to take care that the said persons be honorably and comfortably accommodated with provisions for the sea and other necessities in that respect and for their passages, and keepe an account of such disbursements to be delivered unto the treasurer of the countrey, who is hereby ordered to make payment of the same together with security for the other somes according to the generall courts order.

The committee having sent for the gentlemen appointed to raise moneys and make provisions as in the order above mentioned, Capt. Thomas Savage, Mr. Hezekiah Usher, Capt. Wm. Davis, and the Secretary appearing had the said order communicated to them and promised to endeavour accordingly.

[347] The committee spent the rest of this day and the 5th discoursing with the elders of the church of Christ in Boston and in writing a letter to them and the church to desire their concurrence with the

The first of these letters was from the generall court, bearing date the 3d January 1661. with the reverend Mr. John Norton, their teacher, with the worshipful Mr. Bradstreete into

England, to negotiate the countreys affaires with the Kings Majesty, and also writing other letters to other churches, desiring their neighbourly assistance and helpe in their turnes as to supplying of Mr. Nortons absence, which

which last was not sent forth, the church of Boston otherwise ordering their supply.

7 January 1661. The committee meeting againe together, at the Ancor taverne in Boston, according to their agreement or adjournment,

Present,

Capt. Gookin,
Mr. Danforth,

Capt. Lusher,
Capt. Johnson, and
Mr. Joseph Hill.

The Dep. Gov. being againe desired to afford the committee his presence and assistance, desired to be excused.

IT is ordered that the Secretary doe forthwith transcribe the records of the court referring to the proceedings of the court concerning Gorton and his company, Roade Island, the Ironworkes, the Quakers, Piscataqua, Dr. Child and his company, Mr. Hiellersham, the Lords letters about appeales, Reasons politicall for these plantations, two coppies of the pattent, Petition to the King, and such other as he shall see needfull to give a right understanding of the grounds of the courts proceedings about the same.

There being great reason that Mr. Bradstreet should have an opportunity to goe and visit his family and sett things in order there, that he might, as soon as may be, give up himselfe to the prosecuting of the courts desire to effect, the committee adjourned to the 18th instant, at the Ancor taverne.

[348] 18th of January 1661. The committee met together at the place.

Present,

Capt. Gookin,
Mr. Danforth,

Capt. Lusher,
Capt. Johnson,
Mr. Joseph Hill.

AT which meeting Mr. Bradstreet and Mr. Norton presented the propositions here under writ to the consideration of the committee.

1 Q. Whether the asserting the countreys privileges of patent so large as the last petition expresseth be convenient?

2. Q. Whether the committee have power to leave out or alter the said petition, because the courts order requires to keep the sense and substance of what the court have agreed on?

3. Q. Whither the committee may and will engage, in the name of the court, to make good all such damages as shall befall them by meanes of any complaint or proceedings in England against them on behalfe of the countrey, or as they are the countreys commissioners, whilst they shall there abide on the countreys service?

4 Q. Whether the Deputy Governour declining the assistance of the committee, and the Governour manifesting himselfe, since the court, unwilling to the present sending (as some have suggested) are not just impediments to the proceedings at present, and ground of discouragement?

The committee perusing the questions returned the answers underwritt.

In answer to the 1st and 2d questions.

Whereas the petition to the King, agreed upon by the generall court in their last sessions, was to be presented to our commissioners consideration, and therein they expressed themselves doubtfull of the conveniency of some passages therein mentioned, which at this distance cannot be resolved to satisfaction, wee judge meete to leave and doe here conclude and order that it shall be at their liberty to present the other petition agreed in the former session, in case they shall judge it more conducing to attaine the preservation of the countreys just liberties and privileges than the latter, and that the names of Mr. Bradstreet and Mr. Norton be inserted in both the first petitions; adding these words after the words suspended lawes (as to death and corporall punishment.)

To

To the 3d Question our answer is affirmative.

To the 4th Question our answer is negative.

By order of the committee,

18 January 1661.

Edw. Rawson, Secretary.

Boston, January 18th 1661.

A writing being exhibited by the honored commissioners of the generall court for negotiating of our affairs with the king's majesty and his most honorable councill. The tenure whereof was as followeth.

THE honored generall court not having leisure to communicate, unto their messengers intended, the matter of their mission with an opportunity to consider thereof, and upon its communication by the honored committee there appeared these ensuing and unexpected difficulties.

1. Two of the magistrates either not giving their placet, or signifying their non-placet as to the mission at this time, the governor and deputy governor being two of them, and though members of the committee, yet declining so much as to owne the busines with their presence.

2. The very substance of the messuage, doubted even by the greater part of the committee (so farre as appeareth to us) to be inexpedient to the end, if presented at this time, in conjunction with the courts instruction to the committee not to recede from the substance of what hath been agreed upon by them.

3. The seeming difficulties of preparing any messuage, as becometh, in the streight of time remaining.

4. The hazard of the undertaking, in the judgment of the honored committee, so sensible thereof as that they thought meete to order the messengers (whose coming can- [350] not be

be hid) yet upon their arrival to abide hidden and forbear any publick management of affaires untill protection for their persons may be obtained from his majesty, a practise obnoxious to manifold inconveniences.

Wee in respect of the premisses (that wee may have, upon occasion, to answer for and satisfie ourselves in time to come) doe conceive it our part and duty not to conceale the prementioned discouragement, but thereupon to offer to the committees solemn consideration whether it be not more eligible to improve the power committed to them, rather for the deferring then for the putting on the present mission intended, touching which question, if they incline to the negative, wee hope the best, but if after all they shall still determine for the affirmative a meete message with other requisites provided, wee hope wee shall not be wanting to the duty of patience therein, though destitute of that encouragement which was fundamentall to our acceptance, and in defect whereof our hope was that the authority of this colony would not have expected this service from us, *fiat voluntas dei.*

Boston 18. 11mo. 1661.

Symon Bradstreet,
John Norton.

To which the Committee returned this answer.⁷¹

THE committee, taking the premisses into their serious consideration, cannot but look upon it as a humbling providence of God towards his poore people, that whilst they are endeavouring (and as they hope in some measure of sincere love to the Lord his truth and ordinances) to wait on God in the use of all lawfull means left unto them for the preservation of such high favours as in sundry respects he hath been pleased to betrust us withall, that so many clouds should hover over our heads for the darkning our pathes, and
stumbling

⁷¹ The original, written by Gookin, and signed by all the members, is in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. A.

stumbling blocks appearing in our way to hinder the same, yet neverthelesse being perswaded that not only prudentiall arguments referring to our owne peace and safety, but also the honor of the Lords name, church and wayes, which is now principally shott at by our ad- [351] versaries, doeth call aloud upon us not to delay the use of all lawful meanes, and this propounded being upon mature counccills in fundry debates agreed upon as the best expedient conducing to such an end, doe account it their duty (the said objections notwithstanding) to further the said gentlemen in discharge of the great⁷² trust reposed in them, and cannot consent to any unnecessary delay therein.

Further briefly to the severall particulars.⁷³

To the first, The committee doe indeed so farr⁷⁴ concur with the commissioners that a more full and explicite acting of the said honored gentlemen, were very desirable, but yet not essentially necessary. The honored governor having manifested himself willing not only to give his approbation to such commission instructions and petitions⁷⁵ as shall be orderly agreed upon, as also to sign the same according to the appointment of the generall court.

To the second, The committee conceive there is no doubt on their part as to this message, nor yet any inconsistency of what they have propounded with what the general court agreed upon, but such as may be rationally interpreted to be the true meaning of the power committed to them.

To the third, The committee doe conceive they are already agreed of the message, viz. the commissions instructions and petitions as in the former returnes.

To the fourth, That as yet no act hath beene passed by them of such tendency, only some propofals, where they have rather

⁷² Omitted by Hutchinson. A.

⁷³ *Partes* in former edition. A.

⁷⁴ Omitted by Hutchinson. A.

⁷⁵ *Particulars* in former edition. A.

rather expressed their tender respect towards our honored and deare friends, than any just reason that they have for the entertaining such fears.

Finally, the committee doe propose as a further expedient for the satisfaction of our honored commissioners, that they themselves would be pleased to consider and present unto us what themselves apprehend there yet remains to be done by us for their furtherance in this so great an undertaking, and we hope we shall not be found wanting to their encouragement in what we may.

By order, Edw. Rawfon, Secr.

[352] The committee appointed by the generall court for the furtherance of the negociation with his Majesty doe order that the ship Society be stayed on the publick charge, untill such time as the commissioners nominated by the court be ready to goe aboard, and accordingly declared themselves to Mr. Hezekiah Usher.

Edw. Rawfon, Secr.

21 January 1661.

Present,	Mr. Gookin,	Capt. Lusher,
	Mr. Danforth,	Capt. Johnfon,
		Mr. Joseph Hill.

A copy of the writing of Mr. Norton presented by himself and Mr. Bradstreet as their final propositions to us respecting their going or not going at this time on the country's service.

WEE whose names are subscribed, mett together as a committee to attend the busines concerning the sending of Mr. Bradstreet and Mr. Norton as messengers from the generall court into England, finding the state of times to be so defective as to the answering the termes upon which the undertaking

dertaking was on their parts accepted as may minister unto them matter of just discouragement as to their proceedings at present, and also it not being in our power to redresse the same upon consideration thereof together with their care to avoyd offence, especially in a matter of this importance, professed in such degree as that if the committee shall yet declare it their judgment that they ought to goe at this time, they purpose notwithstanding, God willing, to proceede accordingly.

Wee say, in consideration hereof and some other respects not needful heere to be mentioned, we thought meete for the prevention of all grievances or dissatisfaction and fuller deliverance of them from all sufferings in the minds of any who either desired or expected their present going to attest the premisses.

[353] The question being put, whether this paper passe as an act of the committee.

The committee on serious consideration heereof voted and concluded in the negative. By order,

Edw. Rawfon, Secr.

Having further considered the reasons presented by our honored friends Symon Bradstreet, Esq; and the Rev. John Norton, gentlemen commissioners appointed for our affairs with his Majesty, wherein they expressed themselves doubtfull of their way as to any further proceeding; wee the committee impowered for that matter doe conceive that what is contained in our former answers given in writing doth declare the substance of what can be expected from us, yet nevertheless that wee be not wanting in the trust reposed in us by the honored court, doe propose to our honored friends, that whereas one part of their objection lyeth in the matter of the addresse agreed upon by the court (for our parts wee un-

derstand by all debates in councils and courts that the maine end of this undertaking is for the obtaining his protection and confirmation of our liberties enjoyed by pattent and present establishment) wee doe therefore offer to our honored friends as an expedient to issue this case, that they will please to drawe up our addresse to his Majesty as themselves think may best conduce to the aforesaid ends, and wee hope there shall be no fayling on our parts as to a meete encouragement and approbation thereof, to which purpose, as wee conceive, full power of the generall court is delegated to us ; or otherwise, if the matter of labour be too great a burthen to them at such a time, then wee desire they will be pleased briefly to give us in writing what they judge convenient to be added or left out of the former addresses, and wee shall apply ourselves to give further satisfaction in the premises ; and further, wee are ready in all wee may or can to comply with what they shall present, that so this great worke of the Lord be not retarded, his servants grieved, our honored friends in England offended, the Kings Majesty [354] incensed, our adversaries animated, and advantaged, our All so much hazarded, especially our God dishonoured and displeased, all which wee earnestly desire and shall endeavour may be prevented.

By order,

Edw. Rawson, Secretary.

Boston, 23d January 1661.

Present,	Capt. Gookin,	Major Lusher,
	Mr. Danforth,	Capt. Johnson,
		Mr. Jos. Hill.

THE committe for raising moneys having reported what they had done, i. e. raised about four hundred pounds, the committee ordered that Mr. William Davis, or in case of his death or absence, Mr. Symon Bradstreet take up in London, or elsewhere, of any gentlemen or merchants, what moneys

moneys shall be expedient, for the use of the countrey, not exceeding the some of three hundred pounds ; which moneys are to be delivered into the hands of Mr. Symon Bradstreet and Mr. John Norton, or either of them, to be disposed of by them for the end aforesaid, and whatever contract the said Mr. William Davis or Mr. Bradstreet shall make in the premisses, either in point of exchange or advance, the said committee doe, in the name and by the power of the court, confirm and ratify ; hereby authorising the said William Davis or Symon Bradstreet to charge bills upon the treasurer of the countrey to pay the same according to agreement, who is also hereby ordered and required to accept and pay the same, who is impowered to issue forth warrants for such proportion of a rate upon the people as shall be meete to sattisfy such payments.

Capt. Davis his returne was, .

Gentlemen, in reference to your motion for my acceptance of a letter of credit for the taking up moneys as you shall appoint for the use of the countrey, to be paid to the honored Mr. Bradstreet and Mr. Norton, I shall with all readines endeavour the same upon the best termes I can [355] procure it, provided I may be secured from any damage as for my owne estate, in case any unexpected change should come upon the countrey. I pray consider what may be most convenient for my security, and whether the treasurers bond to myself will be sufficient, or whether will he give me such a bond for my security, yea or no ?

24 January 1661.

Present,	Capt. Gookin,	Maj. Lusher,
	Mr. Danforth,	Capt. Johnson,
		Mr. Joseph Hill.

At this meeting the committee determined and concluded

cluded upon the addresse to be presented to his Majesty and the commissioners instructions, which are as followeth.

WHEREAS you Symon Bradstreet, Esq; and John Norton, Gentleman, are chosen and authorised commissioners for this colony, to petition our Lord the King and to endeavour the preservation and confirmation of our priviledges formerly granted and hitherto enjoyed; in pursuance whereof you are to attend the particulars following.

1. You shall present us to his Majesty as his loyall and obedient subjects and not be wanting to instance in the particulars which most and best render us so to be.

2. You shall endeavour to take off all scandall and objections which are or shall be made against us.

3. You shall endeavour the establishment of the rights and priviledges wee now enjoy.

4. You shall not engage us by any act of yours to any thing which may be prejudiciall to our present standing, according to patten.

5. You shall give us a speedy and constant account of all your transactions and what else may be of concernment to us.

Signed

Jo. Endecott, Gov.

In the name and by the order of the generall court of the Massachusetts jurisdiction in New-England.

[356] To the high and mighty Prince CHARLES the second, by the grace of God king of Great Britain, France and Ireland, defender of the faith &c.

The humble Petition and Address of the General Court of the Colonie of the Massachusetts in New-England.

Most

Most gracious and dread soveraigne,

THE purport of this poore script is to supplicate the inclination of your royall eare unto the persons herewith sent, Mr. Symon Bradstreet and Mr. John Norton, after a journey of three thousand miles, prostrate at your highnes feete as messengers from your poore yet loyal subjects.

To implore your gracious confirmation of our pattent graunted by your royall predecessor of famous memory, that encouragement wee have to support us in this wilderness (touching our quiet enjoyment both of our civil and ecclesiastical liberties) together with that further hope wherewith wee are comforted by your serene Majestys late propitious returne to our humble addresse.

To beseech your Majestys grace and favor towards us in what our commissioners shall humbly present as conducing to your Majestys just honor and our good.

Ready to give an account of what your Majesty shall require to be informed in, touching this your plantation.

And also in particular to acquaint your most excellent Majesty, that in observance of your Highnes pleasure signified, requiring us to forbear the executing of death or inflicting corporall punishment on the people called Quakers wee have suspended the execution of our lawes in that respect; since which, by reason of their practises and principles in conjunction with the distemper of too many ill affected amongst us, (pardon us, Royal Sir, whilst necessitated thereunto wee crave leave to represent unto you that) wee, besides the present disturbance even to some degree of disaffection, doe houerly conflict with the feare of some sad events, calamitous, unsufferable, if not destruc- [357] tive, untill your royall Majesty shall be pleased to concede unto us the security of ourselves by some most gentle and effectuall remedy suitable to our condition.

And now wee humbly pray that these our messengers may,
under

under the shadow of your most gracious protection, have liberty to speake in our behalfe, unto which persons wee most humbly desire your Majesty to give full credence as to loyall and faithfull men entrusted by the representatives of your people in this place, who alwayes shall as in duty they are bound continually pray for your Majestys temporall and eternall happines.

Your Majestys most loyall and humble subjects,

Signed Jo. Endecott, Governor,

In the name and by the order of the generall court of the Massachusetts jurisdiction in New England.

At this time also the committee judged it meete to write to my Lord Say, and severall other letters, the copies whereof are.

Right Honourable,

THE long experience that your poore suppliants have had of your unfeigned love to the Lord and to his poore people whenever his providence hath given you an opportunitie for their reliefe, especially to these poore sheepe of his in this wilderness, doth embolden us yet further to trouble your Lordship with these few lines.

So great is the fury of the dragon, that when the woman is fled into the wilderness yet he ceaseth not to power out a flood after her, seeking to his power her utter ruin. A taste whereof Gods poore people here doe feele in the violence and rage of these malicious adversaries the Quakers risen up against us, accusing us to his Majesty and intruding themselves upon us, whose worke it is to disseminate their cursed principles and in a tumultuous and rude manner reproaching all established order, as well civill as ecclesiasticall, acting a part as commissioned from hell to ruine the poore churches and people of God here.

[358] Although while wee thus speake wee cannot but acknowledge

knowledge our God is holy and righteous in all his dispensations towards us, our great unprofitableness under long enjoyment of his precious ordinances and liberties that wee have beene here betruſted with, having juſtly provoked his anger againſt us; yet wee muſt ſay with his ſervant David, let us fall into the hands of the Lord whoſe mercies are great, and not under the fury and malice of thoſe hereticks whoſe tender mercies are cruelty.

For which end we have commiſſioned our truſty and well beloved friends Mr. Symon Bradſtreete and Mr. John Norton, to appeare before his Maſteſty and his moſt honorable counſill on the behalfe of this colony, to give an account of the condition of his Maſteſtys poore yet loyall ſubjects in this place and the ground of our proceedings againſt that wicked ſect; as alſo humbly to implore his Highneſs gracious favor for the confirmation of our preſent enjoyments by letters pattent from his moſt royall predeceſſors, for whoſe furtherance, by opening a doore of acceſſe to his Maſteſty and the procuring of his favorable acceptance of our endeavours, wherein wee deſire to act not only our owne intereſt but the intereſt of our Lord and our King, wee ſtand in neede of the helpe of our honored friends on the place, and having none on whome wee can reſoſe greater confidence than on your Lordſhip, we are therefore bould humbly to crave your honours favour herein, as a motive hereto wee neede not be further tedious to your honour by way of argument, being well aſſured that the intereſt which our Lord Chriſt hath in your Lordſhip is moſt effectuell thereto. Unto whoſe grace and in whoſe armes of everlaſting mercies wee commend your honour in whom wee are,

Right honorable,

Your humble ſervants and ſuppliants,

J. E. Gov.

By order of the generall court of the Maſſachuſets.
For the Rt. Hon. Wm. Viſcount Say and Seale, &c.

Att

[359] Att a meeting of the Committee, Boston 24. 11. 1661.

Right Honorable,

THAT respect of yours extended to poore exiles (a condition your honor have sometimes tasted) in the countenance shewed to our humble petition and addresse to his Majestie 1660, doeth beget in us a lively hope of your further clemency in this our present errand, which is to supplicate your honor for favour to the bearers hereof Mr. Symon Bradstreet and Mr. John Norton, sent on purpose as messengers from this poore colony unto our lord the King, for obtaining his grace and protection in the confirmation of our pattent and present establishment, unto which his Majesty's gracious letter in answer to our foresaid addresse doeth much encourage us, also to give an account to his serene highnes in what he shall please to require concerning the state of this his plantation. Wee have appointed these our messengers to wait upon your honour (according to your wonted beneficence) to cast your eye upon them and us, in doing whereof wee shall have cause to pray for the rich blessing of heaven and earth to descend upon you and yours. So wee trust the God of all grace and glory will not fail to accept and recompence all kindnes extended to this little part of his heritage, so we remaine,

Right honorable

Your honors most humble servants,

Jo. Endecott, Gov.

By order, &c.

To the right hon. Edward Earle
of Clarendon, lord high Chan-
cellor of England and one of
his Majesty's most honorable
privy councill, these humbly
present.

Right

[360] Right honorable,

THESE are principally to accompany our beloved friends Mr. Symon Bradstreet and Mr. John Norton, the bearers hereof, who are sent on purpose from us as messengers unto his Majesty to implore his favour and protection in the confirmation of our patent and present establishment, and to give an account, in what he shall require, of the state of this plantation, and to beseech him to tender us in respect of those pestilent hereticks the Quakers who have lately obtained his Majesty's letter requiring us to forbear their punishments; in observance whereof we have suspended execution of our lawes against them respecting death or corporal punishment; but this indulgence they doe abuse to insolency and seduction of our people, and unlesse his Majesty strengthen our hands in the application of some suitable remedy to suppress these and others ill affected to our tranquility, this hopefull plantation is likely in all probability to be destroyed, and how farre that will conduce to the King's honor or profit wee leave to your honors prudence to consider. Therefore if it may please your honour to promote this errand of your humble suppliants and vouchsafe your countenance to our messengers and procure favour and access to his Majesty and his ministers of state, you will greatly oblige your servants to blesse God for you, and to pray that the blessing of heaven and earth may rest upon your head and heart in Christ Jesus in whom wee are,

Right honorable,

Your honors most humble servants,

Jo. Endecott, Gov.

By order, &c.

For the Rt. Hon. Edward Earle of Manchester, Lord Chamberlaine of his Majestys household and one of his Majestys most hon. privy councill, these humbly present.

[361] Att a meeting of the committee at the place appointed, 25th January 1661, who graunted commission to our messengers and wrote severall letters to them and others, the coppies whereof are as followeth,

Commission.

WHEREAS the generall court of the Massachusetts jurisdiction in New England, sitting in Boston the 31st of December 1661, being assured of your wisdom and fidelity, have chosen and authorised you Symon Bradstreet, Esq; and Mr. John Norton, to be their messengers, wee the Governour, Deputy Governour and Company of the Massachusetts doe hereby give unto you ample power to appeare before our soveraigne Lord the King, his high court of parliament, most honorable privy council or others his ministers of state, on our behalfe most humbly to intercede with him or them for the obteyning his Majestys gracious favour and protection of us his loyall subjects in the confirmation of our civill and ecclesiasticall liberties graunted unto us by patent from his Majestys royall predecessors and at present enjoyed under a long and orderly establishment, and to endeavour what in you lieth to remove all obstructions that may impede the same, resting assured that credence will be given unto you in all respects touching the premises. In testimony whereof wee have caused the seale of our colony to be hereunto affixed the 25th January 1661.

Signed Jo. Endecott, Gov. in the name
and by order, &c.

Gentlemen,

The committee advise and direct that you carefully send all your letters and writings of publick concernment by the most faithfull and secrete conveyance, directed under cover to V. to be by him delivered to S. with advice to him to acquaint

quaint the Governor, Dep. Governor and neareſt adjacent magiſtrates ſpeedily therewith, to be by them or the greater part of them opened and communicated to the council or generall court as they ſhall judge neceſſary, and further that you by the firſt opportunity doe adviſe in what way our letters ſhall be directed to you.

Signed per Edw. Rawſon, Secretary, per order.

[362] This day the committee for raiſing money made their returne of what money and of whom procured, and was as followeth.

By Mr. Uſher	-	-	-	-	100£.
By Enſign John Hull	-	-	-	-	50
By Mr. Wm. Davis	-	-	-	-	25
By Mr. Beatles	-	-	-	-	20
By Mr. Boyſe	-	-	-	-	20
By Mr. Ruffell in Engliſh money	-	-	-	-	30
By Left. Sprauge	-	-	-	-	30
By Mr. Scottow in Eng. money	-	-	-	-	20
By Mr. Sheaffe in Eng. money	-	-	-	-	20
By Mr. John Paine	-	-	-	-	50
By Mr. Tho. Luke	-	-	-	-	10
By Mr. Newgat	-	-	-	-	10

More on a 2d returne.

Per Mr. Stiltſon	Eng. money 5.	}	20
	and flower 15.		
Per Mr. Lynd	money per flower		20
Per Mr. Randall Nicholls	flower & caſh		

Boston, 25th January 1661.

Mr. Treafurer, Sir,

SUCH is the neceſſity of our preſent occaſions that wee are againe forced to trouble you againe, and have here incloſed

closed according to your direction particular receipts, which wee pray you signe, that on the receipt of the money they may be delivered to those gentlemen who are willing to pleasure the country in this busines, which wee would entreat them to dispatch forthwith back againe by this messenger that the money may be received to night, for wee now lye on great demurrage. Sir, not else but that wee are yours to serve in what wee may.

Daniel Gookin,	Tho. Danforth,
Eleaz. Lusher,	Edw. Johnson,
Joseph Hill.	

[363] Boston in New-England 25th January 1661.

WEE the Committee of the generall court for accomplishment of the negotiation of our messengers for England, by virtue of the authority of the generall court to us derived, doe order that the treasurer of the country shall within one week after the sailing of the messengers from Nantasket issue forth one full halfe rate upon the inhabitants of this jurisdiction, payable in wheat, barley, pease or money, to be brought in before the tenth of the 1st month next, signifying that all such as shall pay in money to abate one fifth part.

By order,
Edward Rawson, Secr.

Sir,

BEING confidently assured of your readines to strengthen the hands of your poore exile brethren, whose interest is one, although in their millitant condition scattered here and there upon the face of the earth, and conflicting with many adversaries, who like Sanballat and Tobiah of old, are troubled to see temple worke prosper, the which at present is eminently

nently the condition of God's poore people in this remote wilderneffe; by reason whereof the general court of this colony of the Massachusetts, in observance of their duty to God and his Majesty our soveraigne lord the King, have commissioned our trusty and beloved friends Symon Bradstreet, Esq; and the Rev. Mr. John Norton to appeare before his Majesty on our behalf, whose occasions for money wee could not certainly foresee, and by reason of our great distance know no better expedient for their supply then by improoving our interest in sundry of our friends on the place. These are therefore to request your favour that in case our said commissioners or Mr. William Davis, our trusty and assured friend, shall acquaint you that they have occasions for supply, that you will be pleased to disburse to the sume of fifty pounds more or lesse, and for your security their bill of exchange signed [364] by any one of them, and charged on Mr. Richard Russell treasurer of this colony, shall be effectuell for the repayment thereof; and so wee remaine,

Sir,

Your affectionate friend and servant,

Edward Rawson, Secr.

In the name and by order of the generall court.

This was directed to the much honored Herbert Pelham, Esq; &c. The like was directed to Maj. Heines, Mr. Robert Thompson, Mr. Nehemiah Bourne, Mr. Francis Willoughby, Alderman Will. Peake, Mr. Richard Hutchinson, Mr. Thomas Bell, Mr. Edm. White, Mr. Henry Ashurst.

Att a meeting 28th January 1661.

Honored Sir,

WHereas the generall court hath seene meete to impower us to dispatch their messengers Mr. Bradstreet and Mr. Norton for the negotiation with his Majesty, all which is now prepared, wee hope to their content, and themselves have declared their readines to attend that service, there remaining now nothing wanting but your signing thereof. We understand by the secretary you have a second time declined ; now that we may not be found wanting in our duty, wee have againe sent to your worship, desiring your finall answer concerning the perfecting thereof according to the trust reposed in you by the generall court, which if you shall yet refuse the whole busines will be frustrated, and wee feare his Majesty greatly incensed, our enemies advantaged, our friends discouraged, the chief power of this colony disappointed, many of its eminent servants grieved, and above all our God dishonored, which wee pray may be avoyded. So wee rest your friends and servants.

Signed,

Daniell Gookin,
Eliazer Lusher,

Thomas Danforth,
Joseph Hill.

[365] Sir, Wee crave your answer by the gentlemen whom wee have intreated to be the bearers hereof, that no unnecessary charge may accrue to the country by a further demurrage of the ship.

This letter was sent to the Governor by Mr. Edw. Tyng and Capt. Tho. Savage, who returned the answer that the secretary should come to the Governor on the morrow morning about 8 of the clock and he would sign all as is desired. Which was done accordingly.

Boston

Boston 29th January 1661.

To the honored Committee,⁷⁶

HAVING upon the first communicating the busines of our messuage to England by the honored committee, formerly discerned such unexpected discouragements as that wee took ourselves in point of faithfullness to all parties concerned in so weighty a service to represent the same by writing to yourselves, after which, waiting with much patience if our way might be cleared notwithstanding, and now finding in conclusion the ship being ready to sail (besides some other discouragements not to be neglected) an uncertainty as to the convenient supply of money in England, apprehended requisite for the carrying on of this negotiation, wee crave leave by these to present the premisses put together, as a reason upon the whole circumstancing this busines for⁷⁷ the present, with such inconveniencies and hazards in respect of the event thereof, as it seemeth unto us lesse consisting with christian prudence to proceed therein at this time.

Symon Bradstreet,
John Norton.

The committee having considered the writing presented them by Mr. Bradstreet and Mr. Norton dated 29. 11. 1661, return as followeth. That they are ready to attend any propositions that may be made by our honored commissioners for their furtherance, according to the power [366] put into their hands by the generall court, and further they have not to reply, leaving the issue with all future consequences to the allwise disposing hand of God in Christ Jesus.

Daniel Gookin,	Thomas Danforth,
Eliazer Lusher,	Edw. Johnson,
Joseph Hill.	

To

⁷⁶ The original in Bradstreet's hand is in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. A.

⁷⁷ *To* in former edition. A.

To the end the proceeding of the messengers for England be not retarded or frustrate by any defect of ours, wee by the authority of the generall court to us derived, doe order that such advance for the money raised by the committee for that designe as shall by the said committee or the secretary be engaged for, shall be repaid by the treasurer, together with the severall summs payable, according to agreement.

Daniel Gookin,	Thomas Danforth,
Eliazer Lusher,	Edw. Johnson,
Joseph Hill.	

Upon which order the secretary, by advice of Capt. Savage, agreed and signed accordingly, that all such as paid English money, or money in England, should have twenty five per cent allowed them.

The committee going home, hoping on the first faire winde to finde and heare the honored messengers to be sailed away, the Lord was pleased to visit the Rev. Mr. Norton, being the second of February, with a violent fitt of sickness and much colde, that he was forced to keepe his bed. On the third day the committee for raising money signified, by letter to the magistrates at Cambridge, the frowne of God in all endeavours and desired their present councill whether to stay the ship for a season, according to former resolution, to see what the Lord would doe in respect of Mr. Norton, &c. or to suffer her to passe; advice was returned to issue out warrant for the stay of said ship, which was donne.

[367] 4th February 1661.

To the master of the ship Society.

THESE are to require you, by virtue of the authority of the generall court and on their occasions to make stay of your ship for these five days next coming and not depart

depart the harbour, for which the owners may expect necessary and due demurrage. Dated at Boston this 4th of February 1661.

Per order,

Edward Rawson, Secretary.

Att a meeting 6th February 1661.

Mr. Secretary,

THE master of the ship having manifested himself that any further delay will be greatly prejudicial to the owners, &c. our advise is, that in case the gentlemen appointed for the negotiation with his Majesty doe not manifest, under their hands, that a further delay may have a tendency to the furtherance of the ends proposed by the generall court, that then you release the ship from her present stoppage.

Signed by Daniel Gookin,

Thomas Danforth, Edw. Johnson, Joseph Hill.

7th February 1661.

This directed to the Rev. Mr. John Norton.

Reverend Sir,

THE master of the ship intended for England hath been with us, since lecture, desireing liberty to depart, unto whom wee have no other answer to give, but only to referr him to yourselves, on whose account, according to the trust reposed in us by the generall court, shee was stayed, and in case you shall please to advise us that a further stoppage may be a tendency to the ends proposed wee shall concurr therein; if otherwise, wee are unwilling to force any unnecessary inconvenience on those especially concerned in such delay.

[368] Sir, Mr. Bradstreet being present with us manifested

festeth himself ready to attend the service of the country, in case the providence of God give liberty to yourself.

Signed, Dan. Gookin, Tho. Danforth,
7. 12. 1661. Edw. Johnson, Joseph Hill.

Mr. Norton returned that his answer is as at the first, he is ready to attend advise.

Mr. Secretary,

WHEREAS Mr. Norton hath signified to us that the resolution of his proceeding in his voyage for England doth as yet solely depend on God, our advise is therefore that you forthwith release the ship from her present stoppage, and that in case the gentlemen doe not proceed in their voyage, that you then require from aboard such provisions as have bin putt aboard for their accommodation, excepting only what you shall see meete to gratify the seamen withall, and also wee doe advise that, in case of their non going, the bills of exchange be returned to the respective subscribers, and the treasurers bills taken in, that so the country may not be put to further unnecessary damages.

7. 12 mo. 1661.

Jo. Endecott, Gov.

Tho. Danforth, Eliaz. Lusher, Ed. Johnson, Jos. Hill.

Warrant issued accordingly for the ships dismissal.

To Mr. Christopher Clarke, master of the ship Society.

WHEREAS by authority of the generall court said ship was made stay of, on their occasions, for five days, for which the owners might expect due and necessary demurrage: These are, by advise from the like authority, to declare that the said ship is hereby discharged from her former stoppage.

Dated at Boston, 7th Feb. 1661.

Per order,

Edw. Rawson, Secretary.

For

For the honored committee.

THAT a further delay may have a tendency to the furtherance of the ends proposed by the honored generall court I think cannot be denied, but whether it [369] will be effectually unto that end or not, seemeth to be the question, and that such an one whose resolution, as to the certainty thereof, depends solely upon God. To attend his providence in the use of meanes belongs unto man, and in the present case to yourselves belongs (at least in a principall manner) the active part, to the commissioners the passive only, wherein as hath been formerly, by both, so you have hereby againe attested, by the subscriber, all readinesse to resigne up ourselves to the call of God herein, any difficulties notwithstanding, on our parts.

6. 12 mo. 1661.

John Norton.

To which the committee replied.

Sir,

ON perusall of yours, wherein you are pleased to intimate as though something did yet remaine for the committee to be active in, these are only to signify to you, that in case you shall please to advise us wherein wee may further contribute to your furtherance, wee are ready to attend your advise. Sir, with prayers to the Lord for guidance in a right path, wee remaine, Sir,

Yours wherein wee may serve you,

Thomas Danforth,

Edw. Johnson,

Joseph Hill,

Eliasz. Lusher.

Boston 7. 12 mo. 1661.

I Eliazer Lusher being by the committee sent to the reverend Mr. Norton, with a paper drawne in reference to a former paper sent from him to us the committee aforesaid, to understand

derstand from him whether he judged there was yet any thing remayning for us further to doe or to be active in, necessary to the promoting the negotiation intended: His answer to mee was, that he knew not of any thing either forgotten, neglected or yet further to be attended by us the committee, in reference to the case aforesaid, or to that effect.

Per me

Eliazer Lusher.

Mr. Secretary,

SIR, As to the disposall of the provisions provided at the countrys charge for the accommodation of our messengers in the ship Society, our advise is, that in case [370] they doe not goe, that then you dispose of the same in manner following, i. e. that you leave with the seamen and master the strong liquors, be it more or lesse, the provisions undressed with the wine and bedding that you dispose of it for the countrys benefit, and the other provisions wee conceive it is meete that you leave the same with the gentlemen for whom it was provided to dispose thereof at their pleasure.

	Thomas Danforth,	Joseph Hill,
7. 12 mo. 1661	Edw. Johnson,	Eliaazer Lusher.

The committee having took their leaves of the commisioners, it being very doubtfull and uncertaine whether Mr. Norton would be so well as to adventure to goe, though such a forwardnes appeared as the provisions for their voyage, in a great measure, was sent on board, and a little before the committee went to their homes, sent for againe, which occasioned the committee to take care to dispose thereof, and also to draw up certaine letters to the persons of honour formerly mentioned, with letters to Col. Temple and Col. Croune, in case of not going, to give his Majesty a satisfactory accompt that the only reason thereof was that the Lord, whose wee are and in whose hands our times are, by his all wife

wife disposition in such a juncture, had determined it so to be, to whose will wee all owe obedience and submission ; and though the provisions came on shoare, which was only housed with a secret hope of Gods mercifull ordering and disposing of such a turne as for which wee should not only rejoice but be thankfull, the letters being writt and sealed ; though afterwards, on the second day early in the morning, the Lord so encouraged and strengthened the heart of the reverend Mr. Norton, that he exprest himself willing and resolved to goe that day, being the 11th of February ; which on notice of, the secretary delivered the commission, instructions and all writings that concerned the negociation, to the honored Mr. Bradstreet, and made with Capt. Savage and Mr. Usher such further provisions as was wanting and the time would permitt, an account whereof and of the dispo-

[371] sing of the money is ready to be shewne to the honored generall court, with all humble desire of a favorable acceptance of the committees endeavours, which will oblige them to be studious further to serve the country as they are able.

Per order,

Edw. Rawson, Secretary.

Copy of a Letter from the Committee of the General Court to Mr. Richard Saltonstall, &c.⁷⁸

Gentlemen and our very loveing friends,

THE experience that wee have had of your former labour of love and faithfulness to your remote friends, doth encourage and embolden yet further to crave your favour, although accompanied with some labour on your part, as to the accomplishing of this our request.

Such is the all-wise providence of God towards us, that
after

⁷⁸ This and the next Letter were prepared to be forwarded in case the Agents should not proceed. H.

after no little travell for the attaineing of meet persons from among ourselves, for our messengers, to appeare before his Majesty and most honorable councell on the behalfe of this colony, together with provision according to our poore ability for such a dispatch, it hath pleased the Lord to frustrate our designe by disabling one of our said messengers by sicknes, even then when there remained nothing but their going aboard, whereupon the ship hath been put upon demurrage, even to the hazzard both of ship and cargo, by reason of the ice in this cold country, so that we are now forced to send away the addresse to his Majesty with letters to some lords of his honorable councell without our messengers accompanying the same, we being wholly incapable to empower any other, not having an opportunity to convene our generall court for the commissioning of some other in his stead.

Our request is therefore to yourselves, jointly or severally, as God may give you opportunity, after the perusall of the inclosed to seale up the same, and then improve [372] your interest in your and our friends for the delivering of our petition to his Majesty, together with a true representation of this our present disappointment of our real intention, as also for the deliverie of our letters to the severall lords, craving their favor according to the purport thereof, of whose favourable acceptance we shall be glad to heare by the first opportunity.

As also our request is to yourselves that you be pleased to further our request to his Majesty, being to us a matter of great importance, and wherein, as we conceive, the glory of our God is not a little concerned.

What moneys you expend on this our busines charge it to our account, and we shall readily and thankfully owne the same; and we are confidently perswaded he whose name and glory is so greatly interested in our quarrell with those cursed hereticks, will also owne your labour and travell herein,
their

their mallice being not so much against our persons and estates, as against his truth and ordinances, under which we have here desired to shrowd ourselves. Unto whose guidance and blessing we committ you and yours, and remaine,

Gentlemen,
Your assured friends and
brethren in Christ Jesus.

For Mr. Rich. Saltonstall,
Mr. Hen. Ashurst,
Mr. John Leverett,
or any of them.
7th February 1661.

Copy of a Letter from the Committee of the General
Court to Col. Thomas Temple.

Sir,

THE experience we have had of your cordiall affection to his Majesty's poore subjects, circumstanced with the distance and meanes of so remote a wilderness condition, doth embolden to the troubling your honor with these lines.

[373] Such is the good pleasure of him who ruleth all things according to his own will, that when with no little travell and difficulty wee had attained two meet persons from amongst ourselves for our messengers to our lord the King, with some provisions for such an undertaking, according to our poore ability, it hath pleased the Lord to frustrate all our endeavours by his visitation of one of them (i. e.) the Rev. Mr. John Norton, whereby he is disinabled to attend that service; the which, as to ourselves, the disappointment is great, and we cannot but look upon it as an humbling and awfull providence, and that the rather, in that
our

our adversaries thereby have occasion given them to triumph, and to boast themselves that the Lord fighteth against us.

Sir, Your selfe being not long since on the place, we neede not to trouble you with an account of our condition as now circumstanced with the malignancy of our adversaries, especially bent against the interest of the Lord and his poore people here, as yourself do well know, who while they plead with that wicked Haman, that our laws are divers from all people, and do accuse us of disobedience to the laws of our king, and that it is not for his Majesty's profit to suffer us, pretending great profit to his Majesty in case their enterprises may be atchieved, although wee may truly say the enemy in so doing could not countervayle the king's damage.

Our request to your selfe is, that according to the opportunity God hath put into your hands, you will be pleased to further those gentlemen to whome we have committed the trouble of accompanying our addresse to his Majesty together with your presence countenancing of the same, if you shall see meete, and to be further instrumentall, wherein you truly may, for the removing of any offence that this our disappointment may occasion; assuring his Majesty (as wee hope you have charity towards us) that, however we are loaded with the calumnies of our adversaries, we shall alwayes approve ourselves to be those that feare the Lord and honour our King.

[374] Sir, We have not to perswade hereto with motives of our owne deserts or with future obligations. You well knowing our condition, how circumstanced, with so great distance and meanes, utterly incapacitating to a suitable returne of your favour; yet we hope you will not find us uncivill in not acknowledging the same. And however it fares with us, you may assure yourselfe that he who keepeth a register of all hearts and thoughts, Mal. 3. 16 yea even
of

of a cup of cold water, will not be unmindfull of your labour of love, into whose armes of mercy and blessing in Christ Jesus committing you and all your weighty affaires, we remaine

Yours in wherein we may to serve you,

For Col. Tho. Temple.

J. E. &c.

Copy of a Letter from the Corporation in England to
the Commissioners of the united Colonies.

Honored Gentlemen,

A Letter of yours being brought hither, directed to Mr. Ashurst and Mr. Hutchinson, though the former of these two gentlemen did by the last ship, as he tells us, acknowledge the receipt of it, and intimate the reasons of our silence, yet we now thinke it meete to assure you also ourselves how acceptable it was to us to be informed, partly by that letter of yours and partly by the relation of some learned ministers that came a while since from New-England, that you continue your care and concerne for the propagation of the gospel of Christ amongst the poore Indians, and we are glad that through the goodnes of God wee are now in a condition to informe you that since the receipt of your lately mentioned letter, it hath pleased the king's majesty (in councill) to grant a charter of incorporation, wherein many of the nobility and other persons of quality, and most of those gentlemen that were [375] formerly employed in the like worke are authorized and appointed to endeavour the carrying on of that pious designe (for converting the heathen natives) wherein they deservedly esteeme it both an honor and advantage to be employed in this new establishment,

being among other particulars enjoined to appointe commiffioners in New-England to profecute there by our direCTIONS his Majesties pious intentions ; wee judge this to be a matter of the highest concernment that belongs to the worke intrusted to us, for all our endeavours here and all the supplies wee may procure from hence, will be but ineffectuall, though not to our owne souls, yet to the worke wee would promote, unlesse there be a prudent and faithfull management of what wee send over, by the commiffioners wee shall appoint in New-England, and those that they shall employ, and therefore since, having obtained the best information wee can and seriously considered the matter, we have pitched on the same course that have beene formerly taken in pursuance of the same ends and care, and accordingly determined at present to desire you to take upon you againe the care and management of this worke upon the place, wee hope you will descerne how great a trust wee willingly repose in you, and wee doubt not of your readines to comply (as formerly you have done) with our directions herein. The busines wherein wee desire to engage you being such as wee thinke it truly honorable to be engaged in ourselves, and the designe being of a nature to which the greatest and most precious promises are annexed, besides that the civilizing and converting of your barbarous and unbelieving neighbours is that whose successe will be in some regards of more immediate advantage to your selves than to us, our good wishes to so christian a worke makes it much our trouble to see that the meanes of carrying it on are no greater then wee now at our entrance find them, which wee mention, not by way of reflection on those to whose hands the management of them was committed before the grant of the charter, but because it is necessary for us to acquainte you with the condition wee [376] are brought to, partly by the great charge you and wee have been at on severall necessary occasions, and partly (and

(and indeed chiefly) by the injurious dealing of some who take advantage of the letter of the law, against all justice and equitie, to repofseffe themselves of what they formerly sold, whereby the greatest part of our revenue is at present detained, which will prove, wee feare, very expensive and somewhat difficult to recover, and therefore wee desire as little money may be drawne on us for this yeare to come as will possibly consist with the not neglecting of what is necessary to be done, wee say for this next yeare because wee cannot be so dispondent as not to hope that the providence of God will, by some meanes or other, provide for the supply of a worke so much tending to his owne glory, and so acceptable to those that are so heartily concerned for it. The bill of £.800 drawne for the use of the Indian worke is for the most part paid, and should have been entirely so ere now, were it not for the want of present money. That which is from time to time laid out wee desire may, according to your commendable practice, be sent us over in a particular within the yeare, and it may assist us in the regulating our expences, if you be pleased to let us know, by the first conveniency, what further charge you judge you shall be putt to by perfecting the printing of the bible; the use of that divine booke and also a constant use of catechising, wee judge most necessary for the Indians instruction in religion; and wee also thinke it may conduce to unity and order if the same catechisme be generally taught amongst them. If our stocke do increase, which wee hope it hereafter may, especially since his Majesty himselfe has been graciously pleased particularly to countenance this worke, and to secure both what hath been, and what may be given towards it, by a legall settlement, which before was wanting; if (wee say) our meanes increase we should consider of some employment in the way of trade and manufacture to imploy the Indians, or if in the interim there occurs to you any thing about this or any other matter that

that you judge may tend to the promot- [377] ing of that good worke, wherein we have the happines to be jointly engaged, your information and advice will be, as well as your assistance, very welcome to us.

Signed in the name and by the appointment of the
corporation for the propagation of the gospell in
America. Per Robert Boyle, Gov.

London 15th May 1662.

For the worshipfull the Commissioners
of the united colonies of New-Eng-
land, in New-England, these.

Copy of a Letter⁷⁹ from King Charles the second to the
Massachusetts.

CHARLES REX.

TRUSTY and well beloved, Wee greete you well.
Whereas wee have lately received an humble address
and petition from the generall court of our colony of the
Massachusetts

⁷⁹ On the reading of this letter, 8 October, 1662, the General Court passed several votes relating to it. Among them, as follows, "The Court, having duly considered of his maj^{ty}s letters now in Court, & the contents thereof, doe hereby order the publication thereof." *Mass. Records*, Vol. IV, part 2, p. 58. On page 72 of the same volume may be read the action of the General Court on the refusal of the Conftable of Woburn to read and publish the letter in that town. Samuel G. Drake, of Boston, has the manuscript copy by Rawson, which caused this trouble. It is directed "To the Conftable of Wooborne who is hereby required to publish or cause the same to be published at a Generall Towne meeting there.

Edw. Rawson Secret."

On the back is the following in a very illiterate hand: Woobourne did refuse to take this letter. This is to certify whom it may concern that I Thomas Dutton
of

Massachusetts in New England, presented to us by Symon Bradstreet and John Norton, Wee have thought it agreeable to our princely grace and justice to lett you know that the same have been very acceptable unto us, and that wee are satisfied with your expressions of loyalty, duty and good affection made to us in the said address, which wee doubt not proceeds⁸⁰ from the hearts of our good subjects, and Wee are therefore willing that all our good subjects of that plantation do know that Wee doe receive them into our gracious protection, and will cherish them with our best encouragement, and that Wee will preserve, and doe hereby confirme the pattennt and charter heretofore graunted to them by our royall father of blessed memory, and that they shall freely enjoy all the priviledges and libertyes graunted to them in and by the same, and that Wee will be ready to renew the same charter to them, [378] under our great seale of England, whenever they shall desire it. And because the licence of these late ill times hath likewise had an influence upon our colony, in which they may⁸¹ have swerved from the rules prescribed, and even from the government instituted by the charter, which wee doe graciously impute rather to the iniquity of the time than to the evill intents of the hearts of those who exercised the government there. And Wee doe therefore publish and declare our free and gracious pardon to all our subjects of that our plantation, for all crimes and offences committed

of Wooboorn do acknowledge that on request of several inhabitants of the said town did procure this Letter of the Secretary and gave it to the Constable Isack Cole who refused it and so I brought it again this 8 of December 62..

Witness

Thomas Dutton

Moses Cleveland
& John Baker
William Simons

A manuscript copy by Rawson is found among the "Danforth papers" in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and was printed in Vol. XVIII, p. 52. The American Antiquarian Society also possesses a copy. A.

⁸⁰ Proceed in ms. A.

⁸¹ Omitted by Hutchinson. A.

committed against us during the late troubles, except any⁸² such persons who stand attainted by our parliament here of high treason, if any such persons have transported themselves into those parts; the apprehending of whom⁸³ and delivering them into the hands of justice Wee expect from the dutiful and affectionate obedience of those our good subjects in that colony, if they be found within the jurisdiction and limitts thereof. Provided always, and be it in our declared expectation, that upon a review of all such lawes and ordinances that are now or have been during these late troubles in practise there, and which are contrary or derogative to our authority and government, the same may be annulled and repealed, and the rules and prescriptions of the said charter for administering and taking the oath of allegiance be henceforth duly observed, and that the administration of justice be in our name.⁸⁴ And since the principle⁸⁵ and foundation of that charter was and is the freedom of⁸⁶ liberty of conscience, Wee do hereby charge and require you that that freedom and liberty be duely admitted and allowed, so that they that desire to use the booke of common prayer and performe their devotion in [379] that manner that is established here be not denyed the exercise thereof, or undergoe any prejudice or disadvantage thereby, they using their liberty peaceably without any disturbance to others; and that
all

⁸² *Only* in ms. A.

⁸³ The manuscript contains the words, "and the transporting them into this kingdom." A.

⁸⁴ These are made the conditions of the Pardon which the King may annex as he thinks fit, on the performance whereof the validity of the Pardon will depend. What follows seems to be rather a requisition or recommendation of certain acts upon the performance whereof depends his Majesty's further grace and favour. This is called a Letter and certainly was not a Pardon under the great seal. It is however often claimed as a Grant or Charter as well for the remission of all Offences as for the confirmation of all Liberties and Privileges granted by Patent. H.

⁸⁵ *Principal end* in ms. A.

⁸⁶ *And* in ms. A.

all persons of good and honest lives and conversations be admitted to the sacrament of the Lords supper, according to the said booke of common prayer, and their children to baptism. Wee cannot be understood hereby to direct or wish that any indulgence should be graunted to those persons commonly called Quakers, whose principles being inconsistent with any kind of government, Wee have found it necessary, with the advise of our parliament here, to make a sharp law against them, and are well content you doe the like there. Although Wee have hereby declared our expectation to be that the charter graunted by our royall father, and now confirmed by us, shall be particularly observed, yet, if the number of assistants injoynd thereby be found by experience, and be judged by the country, to be inexpedient, as Wee are informed it is, Wee then dispence with the same, and declare our will and pleasure, for the future, to be, that the number of the said assistants shall not exceed 18, nor be less at any time than 10, Wee assuring ourselfe, and obliging and commanding all persons concerned that, in the election of the governor or assistants, there be only consideration of the wisdom and integrity of the persons to be chosen, and not of any faction, with reference to their opinion or profession, and that all the freeholders of competent estates, not vicious in conversations, orthodox in religion (though of different persuasions concerning church-government) may have their vote in the election of all officers civill or millitary. Lastly, our will and pleasure is that at the next generall court of that our colony this our letter and declaration be communicated and published, that all our loving subjects⁸⁷ may know our grace and favour to them, and that Wee doe take them into our protection as our loving and dutifull subjects, and that Wee will be ready from time to time to
receive

⁸⁷ The manuscript contains the words, "within that our plantation." A.

receive any application or address from them, which may concerne their interest and the [380] good of our colony, and that Wee will advance the benefit and⁸⁸ trade thereof by our uttermost indeavour and countenance, presuming that they will still meritt the fame by theire duty and obedience.

Given at Hampton-Court, June 28th, in the fourteenth year of our reign.

By his Majesty's command,

Ed. Nicholas.

Copy of the Petition of John Scott, Esq; to the King, about Long Island, in N. York Government, with his Majesty's Reference thereof.

To the Kings most excellent Majesty,

The humble petition of John Scott, Esq;

Sheweth,

THAT your Majesties petitioner's father in the year 1641 sould 2200*l.* per ann. and advanced 14300*l.* to the use of your Majesties royall father of ever blessed memory, besides the los of his life in the said servis, and your petitioner for a small expression of his loyalty, by cutting the bridles and girts of some of the then parliaments horses quartering at Turnham Green and his late Majesties at Branford, was after many hearings before a committee of the said parliament (by a gift of 500*l.* to the said committee to prevent further mischief) ordered to be sent to New England under the tuition of one Downing, who dealt most perfidiously with your Majesties petitioner; that your Ma-
jesties

⁸⁸ *Of the* in former edition. A.

jesties petitioner was forced to court any imployment to acquire a livelihood, imploying himselfe in and about an island called Long Island, of which island, before your Majesties happie restoration, the petitioner purchased near one third part.

The petitioner therefore humbly prayes your Majestie of your princely grace and favour to bestow upon him the government of the said island and islands adjacent, or libertie to the inhabitants to chuse a governor and assistants yearly.

And the petitioner shall ever pray.

[381] At the court at White-Hall, June 26th 1663.

HIS Majestie having received good testimony of the petitioners loyalty and great sufferings, and being fully satisfysed of his particular abilities to serve him, is most graciously inclined to encourage him in his desires, and is pleased accordingly to refer his present sute to the committee of forraigne plantations, who are to consider and certify⁸⁹ his Majestie whether there be any private pretensions upon the said island, &c. (by any former grant) that his Majestie may know what is proper to be done for gratifying the petitioner and the good of his owne subjects in those parts.

Henry Bennet.

⁸⁹ I observe, in general, in these Papers the orthography of the originals. This is printed from an original signed by Sir Henry Bennet, afterwards Earl of Arlington. H.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. John Leverett to Sir Thomas Temple in London, giving an Account of the Massachusetts publick Affairs.

THE state of this country as to its constitution and settlement under the favour of his Majesty's patents, and that these governments according to their constitution thereby, have been carried an end some longer some shorter tyme, is well knowne. That of Plymouth was the first settlement, but that of the Massachusetts though begun diverse years after, yet by God's speciall blessing is the most prosperous and considerable both for people and trade. For the manner of government though 'tis under an annuall election according to patent, yet the persons seldome chang'd or remov'd but by death or their owne removing out of the collony. The present state of the collonies through Gods great mercy is a state of peace and under the injoyment of a competency for the continuance whereof wee have dependance upon the continuance of that mercy of God and his Majesty's graciose [382] favor, for whose happiness and prosperity dayly prayers are made to the great God (the God of all grace and mercy) both in publique and private.

This summer wee have been under some trouble by the pagan natives, who have had their plottings and contrivances for our disquiet, but the Lord hath prevented it, blessed be his name, and there is a better understanding now betweene the English and them than there was in the spring of the yeare. Some small disturbance there hath beene at a place called Packatuck, betweene Conecticott and Rhoad Island; the question betweene them is in poynt of jurisdiction, and its credibly reported that Rhoad Island have chosen one Mr. John Clarke⁹⁰ their deputy governor, and intend to send him

⁹⁰ I suppose this to be the same Person who was sentenced to be fined or whipped for his antipædobaptistical tenets, and who afterwards removed to Rhode Island where his posterity remain in repute to this day. See p. 309. H.

him to complaine to his Majesty of Conecticott. Conecticott have offered to referr the matter to the two colonies of Massachusetts and Plimouth, to which motion diverse of Rhoad Island would concur but others refuse, upon what ground is not understood. These colonies not being interested in the quarrell or reason of it (though some of the inhabitants may be in the land, or claim an interest therein, but the government doe not) soe that that course might have been neighbourly to have tryed for an issue that way, before there had been giving a trouble to his Majestie in so small a matter as it is supposed that will prove to be when heard; however, it is a certaine truth that the collony of the Massachusetts is not at all ingaged and not soe much as acquainted with it further than report. If soe be that from the complaints of Rhoad Island men, or any others, any thing should be reflected upon the collony of the Massachusetts, may wee by the means of any friend or friends but obtaine the favour to be heard before wee are concluded with those complained against, or have any conclusion made of us, it will be a verry high obligation unto us. Another thing desirable is, that we may be advized what motions there [383] may be concerning us, if any, whether for our advantage or disadvantage. 'Tis well knowne that many have been the attempts to give us disquiet or interruption in the worke the Lord hath set us about in this wilderneffe, and wee cannot thinke that we are without ill-wishers. But God that hath prevented and disapoynted all hitherto, can, and will, soe far as it may concur with his own counccills and good pleasure, which hath appeared to be counccills of much peace towards an unworthy people, for which let his holy name be forever praised by us in a way of believing, that wee may be able to say in truth, this God is our God who was our fathers and will be our guide unto death.

Copy of a Letter from Sir John Wolstenholme to Mr. Edward Rawson, Secretary to the New-England Plantations.

Mr. Rawson,

I Have received the 26th of January your letter dated the 22d December, with eleven copies of bonds and a copie of an order of your court in pursuance of the act of navigation, with a letter from your governor about the same, and testifying the receipt of his Majesty and counsellis order and articles concerning the said navigation, and am very glad to see your governor and counsell of New-England so ready to observe those good lawes tending so much to advance his Majestys service and the true English interest, wherein I conceive the English plantations are as much concerned, if wayed with judgment and discretion, as ourselves here; for if wee doe not maintaine here the honour and reputation of his Majesty and the nation, which must be by our navigation and shipping which are our walles, the plantations will be subject to be devoured by strangers. I am a great well wisher and good friend to your plantation and so was my father before me who died 24 yeares since, because wee did observe your plantation [384] industrious, and when some clouds were then here, about your plantation, with our best advice to those sent from thence heather endeavoured to remove and disperse them, and although different in opinion in the discipline of the church yet earnestly desired to preserve and keepe you faithfull to his Majestys crowne and subjection as true Englishmen to the civill government, which I hope will so continue, for which I shall always pray, and with my humble service to your Governor I shall remaine,

Your verie loving friend,

London 1st of Feb. 1663.

Jo. Wolstenholme.

Since

Since writing hereof I have received a second letter with intire coppies of the aforefaid bonds from you by another shipe.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Thomas Prentice Governor of Plymouth Colony, to Secretary Rawson.

Sir,

I Have on the receipt of yours by Capt. Olliver, and as the shortness of time would admitt advised with some of our inhabitants here; and taking notice of Mr. Leet's also, wee apprehend he doth not groundlesly press the interposition of the colonys in reference to Capt. Scott,⁹¹ it being a case wherein the whole may be deeply concerned, and therefore shall endeavour the next week to [385] dispatch away some that may be assitant to the gentlemen that you have already sent. Wee hope they will be there in good time. Wee see not how wee can answer Mr. Leet's desire in a meeting of the commissioners at Hartford, but doe deeply resent the matter, and are very ready to put forth to the uttermost in such an interposition, which with my respects I intreat you to signifie unto your honored councell, so not willing to give you noe further trouble, remayne your assured friend and confederate,

Tho. Prentice.

Plymouth April 28. 1664.

Copy

⁹¹ This Capt. Scott, either under colour of the order of his Majesty in Council, p. 381, or some further proceedings in consequence of it, came to Long Island and laid claim to the property or jurisdiction or both, which gave great offence to New-Haven colony which had exercised jurisdiction over the East end of the Island. Scott was taken and imprisoned as appears by Colonel Goffe's journal, but the whole Island being soon after included in the grant to the Duke of York the controversy between New-Haven and Scott was settled. H.

Copy of a Letter from King Charles the II. to the Inhabitants of the Province of Maine.

To our trusty and well beloved the Inhabitants upon the Province of Meyn in New-England, or whom else it may concern.

CHARLES, R.

TRufty and well beloved we greet you well ; whereas our trusty and well beloved Ferdinando Gorges, Esq ; hath by his humble petition informed us that his grandfather Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Knight, deceased, being a person who laid himself forth very much for the advancing of forraine plantations, and particularly that of New-England in America, did in the fifteenth year of the raign of our late royal father of blessed memory, obtain a grant under the great seale of England, for a certain part and portion of the said country, which by the said patent was entitled the province of Meyne and (as the petitioner affirms, he hath heard from several persons of worth) he the said Sir Ferdinando Gorges did expend in planting several parts of New-England above twenty thousand pounds sterling ; and when he was in hopes to receive some advantage in recompence of his great disbursements aforementioned, the late unhappy warres breaking out in Eng- [386] land, he the said Ferdinando Gorges (though betwixt three and fourscore years of age) did personally engage in our royal fathers service, and particularly in the siege of Bristol, by reason whereof when it was necessary for him to appear before the council and committees for forraine plantations, he was wholly discountenanced by them, even to the encouraging of the people in the said province to disown his government, which had continued for several years uninterrupted, and a party of the inhabitants of the said province, petitioning the governors
of

of the Massachusetts Bay, that they would also take upon them the government of the said province; in pursuance of that petition, those who had the government of the said Bay did from thenceforth take upon them the government of the said province, so as both the said Sir Ferdinando, the petitioners father, and himself, have ever since been thereby deprived of the issues and profits of said province. Now in regard of the premises, and for as much as those agents who were lately employed to address themselves unto us, on the behalf of the governours and inhabitants of the said Bay, being on the behalf of the petitioner charged before our privy council for usurping the government of the said province, did declare that those whom they represented did not claim any title in, or interest to the said province; but did onely govern the same untill orders from hence were sent over for the government thereof, on the behalf of the petitioner: upon whose humble supplications, we were graciously pleased to refer the allegations aforesaid to the consideration of our counsel learned in the law, who have made report unto us, that they have considered thereof, and do find that Sir Ferdinando Gorges aforementioned, in the fifteenth year of the raigne of our royal father, obtained a grant to him and his heirs under the great seal of England of a part of New-England in America, called by the name of the province of Meyne, to be held as of the mannor of East Greenwich, under certain rents and conditions in the letters pattents expressed, and that it appeared by severall affidavits and certificates of credible persons that the said [387] Sir Ferdinando Gorges had the possession of the said province without any disturbance, and did govern the same according to the directions of the said letters pattent for some years, expended above twenty thousand pounds in the plantation thereof, that when he had made such progress in the said plantation as that he expected to reap some profit and advantage thereby, the unhappy warres breaking out in England

Sir

Sir Ferdinando Gorges was in actual service in the said warres for our royal father, by reason whereof he was a great sufferer, plundered and imprisoned several times and thereby disabled from any further expences in carrying on the said plantation, the rather for that he was so discouraged and discountenanced by the then pretended commissioners for forraigne plantations, as that his commissioners were forced to come from the said plantation, and so lost the possession, and the inhabitants thereof petitioned the governours of the Massachusets or Bay of Boston, to take them under their government, which accordingly they did, and have continued under their government ever since, and the petitioners commissioners since our restauration have endeavoured to take possession of the said province for the petitioner (being heir to his grandfather) and proclaimed us, began to hold courts as formerly, and to administer the oathes of allegiance and supremacy, but were disturbed and hindered therein by the said governours of the Massachusets or the Bay of Boston, who required the commissioners to proceed no further on the behalf of the petitioner untill they had order from the supream authority of England, untill which time they commanded the inhabitants of that province to continue under their government: We have taken the whole matter into our princely consideration, and finding the petitioners allegations and report of our said council learned so consonant, we have thought fit to signifie our pleasure on the behalf of the said Ferdinando Gorges the petitioner, hereby requiring you that you forthwith make restitution of the said province unto him or his commissioners, and deliver him or them the quiet and peaceable possession thereof: [388] otherwise that without delay you shew us reason to the contrary. And so we bid you farewell. Given at our court at White-hall the 11th day of June 1664, in the 16th year of our raigne.

By his Majesties command,

W. Morice.

Copy

Copy of a Letter from the General Court to Robert Boyle, Esq;

Honorable Sir,

THE occasion of our giving you this trouble is from the confidence wee have of your favour and care of these his Majesties collonies on New England, manifested by your continued endeavours as in promoting that good work of the natives conversion, soe in taking opportunities for ingratiating us with his Majestie and the right honorable the Lord Chancellor, as wee understand by your letter to Mr. Winthrop, wherein you have given us that comfortable information of his Majesties grace towards us in expressing himself in a very favorable manner, and that the Chancellor did assure you (with giving you commission to assure our friends in the citty) that the King intends not any injury to our charter or the destruction of our civill government, or the infringement of our libertie of conscience, and that the doeing of those things is none of the busines of the commissioners. The truth of which wee beleeve as wee ought to doe the words of soe gracious a King.

But alas, Sir, The commission empowering those commissioners to heare and determine all cases whatever, military, criminall or civill (what they have further by instruction at present wee know not) should it take place, what would become of our civill government which hath bin, under God, the heade of that libertie for our consciences for which the first adventurers passed thorough [389] and bore all difficulties and discouragements that encountered them as in the way toe soe in their continuance in this wildernes? Sir, Wee returne you our true and harty thanks for your former favours and crave the continuance thereof as opportunity shall offer and the great mover of harts shall inclyne you in appearing our friend still, that if possible the commission may

be recalled ; for which end wee have made our humble supplication to his Majestie, in whose eyes may wee find favour, wee and our posterity shall have cause to blesse the Lord. But if the decree be past soe that it cannot be recalled, wee shall waight the Lords issue with us ; and whatever may be the conjectures of any, rendering alterations here adviseable, the issue will speake them to be the subversion of all that which makes this place or our abode therein desireable. Or if the envy of those that desire a dominion over us (not to serve his Majesties interest in advancing plantation worke with the countenance of godlines, but to serve themselves by his Majesties authority and our ruin) shall prevaile, it will to posterity be rendered a disservice, to his Majesties dishonor, and such a dammage as the procurers will not be able to repay us. Wee can sooner leave our place and all our pleasant outward injoyments than leave that which was the first ground of wandering from our native country, nor are wee thereby made such strangers thereto but wee can rather chuse to return and take up our lott with our brethren than abide here under the deprivation of the end of our travells. Our way is with the Lord. Craving your honnors pardon, for this bouldness, and offering up our best desires to the Lord for you, wee remaine

Sir, Your humble sarvants,
J. E. G.

In the name of the generall court.

To the right honorable Robt. Boyle, Esq ;
Gov. of the corporation for the propaga-
tion of the gospel in New England.

[390] Copy of a Letter⁹² from Secretary Morice to the Massachusetts Colony.

Sirs,

HIS Majesty hath heard this petition⁹³ read to him and hath well weighed all the expressions therein, and the temper and spirit of those who framed it, and doth not impute the same to his colony of the Massachusetts, amongst whom he knowes the major part consists of men well affected to his service and obedient to his government, but he hath commanded me to let you know that he is not pleased with this petition and lookes upon it as the contrivance of a few persons who have had too long authority there, and who use all the artifices they can to infuse jealousies into his good subjects there and apprehensions as if their charter were in danger, when it is not possible for his Majestie to doe more for the securing it or to give his subjects there more assurance that it shall not in any degree be infringed, than he hath already done, even by his late commission and commissioners sent thither, who are so far from having the least authority to infringe any clause in the said charter, that it is the principall end of their journey, so chargeable to his Majestie, to see that the charter be fully and punctually observed; his Majestie did expect thanks and acknowledgments, from that his colony, of his fatherly care in sending his commissioners thither, and which he doubts not he shall receive from the rest of his colonies in those parts, and not such unreasonable and groundlesse complaint as is contained in your petition, as if he had thereby intended to take away your priviledges and to drive you from your habitations, without the

⁹² A copy by Rawson is found among the "Danforth papers" in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. It is thus described, "Here follows a copie of a letter received from his Matie by Capt. Peirce who arived 13th of May 1665." A.

⁹³ See Appendix to History of Massachusetts Bay, V. I. p. 537. H.

the least mention of any misdemeanour or miscarriage in any one of the said commissioners or in any one particular ; nor can his Majestie comprehend (except you believe that by granting your charter he hath parted with his soveraigne power [391] over his subjects there) how he could proceed more graciously, or indeed any other way, upon so many complaints presented to him by particular persons of injustice done contrary to the constitution of that government ; from the other colonies for the oppression they pretend to undergoe by the power of that of the Massachusetts, by extending their bounds and their jurisdiction further than they ought to doe, as they pretend ; from the natives for the breach of faith and intolerable pressures layed upon them, as they alledge, contrary to all kind of justice, and even to the dishonour of the English nation and christian faith, if all they alledge be true ; I say, his Majestie cannot comprehend how he could apply proper remedies to these evils, if they are reall, or how he could satisfy himselfe whether they are reall or noe by any other way or meanes than by sending commissioners thither to examine the truth and grounds of all the alligations, and for the present to compose the differences the best they can, untill upon a full and clear representation thereof to his Majesty, who cannot but expect the same from them, his Majesties owne finall judgment and determination may be had, and it hath pleased God so far already to blesse that service that its no small benefit his Majestie and his English colonies in those partes have already received by the said commissioners in the removall of so inconvenient neighbours as the Dutch have been for these late years, and which would have been a more spreading and growing mischief in a short time, if it had not been removed. To conclude, I am commanded by his Majestie to assure you againe of your full and peaceable enjoyment of all the priviledges and liberties granted to you by his charter, which he hath heretofore
and

and doth now againe offer to renew to you, if you shall desire it, and that you may further promise yourselves all the protection, countenance and encouragement that the best subjects ever received from the most gracious Prince; in returne whereof he doth only expect that duty and chearfull obedience that is due to him, and that it may not be in the power of any malicious person to make you [392] miserable by entertaining any unnecessary and unreasonable jealousies that there is a purpose to make you foe; and since his Majesty hath too much reason to suspect that Mr. Endecott,⁹⁴ who hath during all the late revolutions continued the government there, is not a person well affected to his Majesties person or his government, his Majestie will take it very well if at the next election any other person of good reputation be chosen in the place, and that he may noe longer exercise that charge. This is all I have to signify unto you from his Majestie and remaine

Your very humble servant,

Whitehall, Feb. 25.
1664.

Will. Morice.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Davenport to Major
General Leverett.

Honorable Sir,

LET my first salutation be my congratulation for this addition of a further expression of Gods peoples affection and confidence in your courage, wisdom and faithfulness for the interest of our Lord Jesus and the good and welfare of church and commonwealth, in that they have unanimously called you to be one of the assistants for governing the civill affaires

⁹⁴ Mr. Endecott died before the next election. H.

affaires in the court, as well as to be their major generall in the campe. The good Lord assist and governe you by his spirit of wisdom, of courage, and of the feare of the Lord in both.

Sir, I received yours dated 27. 3d. 65. for which I returne humble and hearty thanks, and for the inclosed narrative, whereby I perceive that the powers of darknes which have prevailed in other parts of the world are at worke here also, to subvert the kingdome of Christ in these ends of the earth. But God hath not yet said that this is their hour in reference to N. E. though our unthankfulness for the gospel, unfruitfulness under it, disobedience [393] to it, declensions from the simplicity that is in Christ, and sinful compliances, &c. have deserved that our hedge should be broken down. That admonition which Christ sent unto the church at Ephesus should sound in our hearts continually, Repent and doe thy first workes. For even David had his first and his latter wayes. Therefore it is noticed concerning Jehosaphat, in 2 Chron. 17. 3. that the Lord was with him, because he walked in the first waies of his father David. If N. E. would returne to the first waies of reformation here begun, according to gospel rules and patternes (from which the compass of the last synods conclusions seemes to be varied by some degrees towards the antartique, or is newly discovered to be other than I formerly apprehended to have been the way of these churches) I would hope that the same onely wise God who disappointed the council of that archprelate in the reigne of the last king (whereby your pattent was once and againe demanded by the said king, and as often refused by your generall court, to be returned to England) would also still appeare, in this juncture, by frustrating the present designe and making it an abortion, or a mere tryall of the country, whether they will stand to their church rights and priviledges or permit them to be invaded and violated by
such

such attempts, which when they are tried and found unsuccessful, will cease for the future. For the Lord is and will be with his people while they are with him; and if yee seeke him he will be found of you. An experiment hereof you had in the quiet proceeding of your elections, as a gracious answer to prayers. Their claiming power to sit authoritatively as a court for appeales, and that to be managed in an arbitrary way, was a manifest laying of a ground worke to undermine your whole government established by your charter. If you had consented thereunto, you had plucked downe with your owne hands that house which wisdom had built for you and your posterity. For all your courts would then have signified nothing; the sentences of them being liable to be dissannulled, upon complaints to the commissioners made by delinquents, as [394] appeareth in the case of Mr. Tho. Deane, &c. and the execution of the justest censure might be hindred and the course of justice obstructed, as you have alreadie found in the case of John Potter.⁹⁵ Nor can I see that your preserving that authority and jurisdiction which the last king, by his roial charter, gave you, can rationally be accounted an opposing the soveraignety which this king hath over you, seeing *id possunt reges quod jure possunt*. There is indeed a verball profession of preserving your liberties. But if the commission of these gentlemen be of such a latitude as they say, it is a real destruction of that which they promise to preserve. *Quid verba audiam, cum facta videam?* Therefore, to me, the matter of your answer seemes to be rational, just and necessary. As for the solemnity of publishing it, in three places, by sounding a trumpet, I believe you did it upon good advise, and therefore, suspending my own thoughts, I shall wait to see how it is refented at the court in England. Yet, upon serious
second

⁹⁵ For documents on the cases of Deane and Porter (as it should be spelled) see Massachusetts Records, Vol. IV, part 2. A.

second and third thoughts, I see not but that it was your prudent way so to do, considering that, 1. It was the answer of the generall court. 2. Published in the kings name. 3. For the cognisance of the whole country concerned in it. 4. For declaring the courage and resolution of the whole country to defend their charter liberties and priviledges, and not to yeeld up their right voluntarily, so long as they can hold it, in dependance upon God in Christ, whose interest is in it, for his protection and blessing, who will be with you while you are with him. If my advise were worth any thing, I would say, let a collection of your grievances occasioned by the coming over of these commissioners, and by their actings, in one place and another, and of the 3 commissioners in prejudicing the Indians against the English, whereby the good worke for their conversion is in danger to be hindered and the safety and peace of the English to be hazzarded, for the future; let, I say, all instances of their illegal and injurious proceedings, throughout the country, be fully collected and clearly proved, and speedily transmitted and represented to the [395] king, the lord chancellor, &c. by your next addres, and therein let them fully and plainly understand that the whole country (for the generality of them) are much aggrieved at these doings and humbly desire to be resettled in their former state, according to their charter, and that they may be freed from those new encroachments; wherein the petition to the generall court presented in the names of so many non-freemen, declaring their full satisfaction in the settled government, as it is, with their earnest desire that it may be still continued without alteration, may be signified to the higher powers, to good purpose. Sir, You see whether my zeale for preserving Christs interest in your parts (though in N. H. C.⁹⁶ it is miserably lost) and my unfeigned love to your colonie and my fervent desire of the welfare of the churches and commonwealth

⁹⁶ New Haven Colony. H.

monwealth (so far as they may be promoted and perpetuated by your circumspection) hath carried me, through my confidence in your wisdom and faithfulness, that you will make no other use of this my scribbling then such as shall be safe both to you and me. To the honorable governor you may communicate it, if you please, presenting also to him my humble and affectionate service.

Sir, I returne your copie of the articles that concerne Commameene, having received them formerly from your selfe, and lately from Mr. Bishop, with many thanks to you for the sight and loan of them from us both. But I am and shall be discouraged from regarding such agreement made by a subject, though honourably, til I see your charter, sealed by the late King, and obliging his heirs and successors, really as well as verbally confirmed and performed, towards the purchasing whereof I paid 50*l.* and Mr. Eaton 100*l.* and sundry other merchants the same sums respectively, we being members of the London corporation for N. E. which doth ingage me to desire and endeavour, what I can and may, that the intended effects thereof may remaine, for the service of Christ and for the good of all his people, both at present and for the future. I heare well of your last address to the king. I should take [396] it for a favour if I might peruse it and the king's answer. I shall now cease from giving you any further trouble, but not from praying for a good issue of your and our present afflictive exercises, and not ours only but of the distressed churches of Christ, in whom I rest,

Sir, Your obliged assured,

John Davenport.

N. H. the 24 of the 4. 65.

Copy of a Petition to the King from some of the
Inhabitants of the Province of Maine.

To the King's most excellent Majesty,

The humble Petition of the Inhabitants of Casco upon the
Province of Maine in New-England, wherein according
to his Majesties command is rendered their reasons why
they could not submit to Mr. Gorges.

Most dread Sovereigne,

PARDON, wee humbly beseech, if wee presume to address our most gracious and loving father, whose gracious eye and fatherly care is towards us the meanest of your subjects inhabiting the northern parts of your dominions in this wilderness, as wee understand by your gracious letter to us. For the which fatherly and gracious care of us therein expressed wee beseech, though wee be but one of ten that presume to returne thanks, pardon wee humbly beseech you our presumption, who have the royall scepter of your command for soe doing, and accept of our bounden thankfulness, who upon our bended knees doe returne unto your sacred Majesty most humble and hearty thanks for the same.

And whereas your Majesty was pleased to demand our submission to Mr. Gorges, or else forthwith to render our reasons, may it please your most sacred Majesty, wee have no reasons as of ourselves, having nothing to say against [397] Mr. Gorges or his government, but if it shall please your Majesty soe to determine it, wee shall willingly and cheerfully submit to it.

1 Reason. But when wee first submitted to the government of the Massachusetts wee did engage to be under their government till such time as your Majesty should determine us as proper to any other regulation, your Majesty being pleased to send to them demanding, as wee are informed,
their

theire resignation of us, or else to shew theire reasons; which, they say, they have undertaken to doe, and therefore have commanded us in your Majesties name to continue under theire government till itt shall bee determined by your Majestie; against whom wee have nothing to say, butt have by good experience found that expresseion of your Majestie verified concerning them, that whereas they have exceeded others in pietie and sobrietie soe God hath blessed them above others, soe wee haveing had pietie soe countenanced and justice soe well executed that wee have found Gods blessing in our lawfull callings and endeavours more in one yeare than in severall before or since our late troubles.

2 Reason. Since which, most gracious Sovereigne, itt hath pleased your Majesties most honorable commissioners to forbid our submission either to the Massachusetts or Mr. Gorges; and wee humblie beseech your Majestie nott to impute it to any disloyaltie in us, if your Majestie find not our names inserted in a petition directed to your sacred Majestie for the removall of the government both from the Massachusetts and Mr. Gorges, wee haveing noe just cause of complaint against either, wee being likewise taught out of the word of God that obedience is better than sacrifice, especially of that which is none of our owne, and of which, for ought wee know, your Majestie hath long since disposed of, or if nott, wee presume your Majestie knoweth better how to dispose of your owne than wee to direct; wee heere professing to your sacred Majestie it is the onely height of our desires, withoutt any sinister or by respects, to be wholie and solie where God by his providence and your commands shall cast us.

[398] Thus haveing, according to your Majesties commands and our weake abilities, rendered all the reasons wee have or know of, wee humblie beg your Majesties determination, by reason of the sad contentions that hath been and

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is now amongst us, nott without some threatning of us who did nott joyne with our neighbours in petitioning against Mr. Gorges and the Massachusetts, humbly begging your gracious and fatherly eye to be towards us, wee onely desiring as much as in us lieth to act in the uprightness of our hearts in the sight of the Almighty, your sacred Majesty and all men, desiring rather to submit to, than to contend or direct what government or governours your Majesty shall please to appoint over us.

Thus, with our prayers to the God of heaven to power upon your Majesty all the blessings heaven and earth can afford, both spirituall, temporall and eternall, beseech him in whose hands are the hearts of Kings to direct your sacred Majesty to dispose of us as may make most for the glorie and honor of God, your sacred Majesty, and the good of us your poore subjects, wee prostrate ourselves at your Majesties feet and subscribe as your due and our duty is,

Your Majesties ever faithfull and obedient
subjects, to be obedient where your
Majesty shall please to command us to
the utmost of our lives and fortunes.

August 1st,
1665.

Henry Williams	George Cleeves
Ambrose Bounds	George Munjoy
George Lewis	Francis Neate
John Lewis	Phineas Hidar
Thomas Skilling	Richard Martin
Thomas Skilling	Benjamin Hatewell
John Skilling	John Ingerfoll
John Clayes	George Ingerfoll
Thomas Wakly	John Marklie
John Rider	John Phillipps
Nathan : Wallis.	Robert Corbin

[399] Copy of a Letter from Robert Carr to Major-General Leverett and the rest of the Commissioners from Boston.

Gentlemen,

HEARINGE of your being at Strawbury banke, and being informed of your strict course you intend against those that have supplicated his Majestie for their freedome and libertie, I could not doe lesse than in his Majesties name require you to take notice of this inclosed, which is a true coppie of a letter sent to the Governour and Councell of Boston, and in his Majesties name I doe againe desire and require you would forbear troubleing or moletting such person or persons in Strawbury banke, Dover or Exon, as hath petitioned his Majestie, untill his Majesties gracious pleasure be further knowne. This is all at present but that I am,

Gentlemen,

Dated at Kittery,

Your friend and servant,

10th October 1665.

Robert Carr.

Copy of a Sentence of Court against Thomas Goold and others.

At a county court held at Cambridge, on adjournment,
Aprill 17. 1666.

THOMAS GOOLD, Thomas Osburne and John George⁹⁷ being presented by the grand jury of this county

⁹⁷ These three persons scrupled Infant Baptism, seperated from the churches of the country and, with others of the same persuasion with themselves, set up a church in Boston. Whilst Congregationalists in England were complaining of the intolerant spirit of Episcopalians there, Antipædobaptists in New-England had equal reason to complain of the same spirit in the Congregationalists there. H.

county for absenting themselves from the publick worship of God on the Lords dayes for one whole yeare now past, alledged respectively as followeth, viz.

[400] Thomas Osburne answered, that the reason of his non-attendance was, that the Lord hath discovered unto him from his word and spirit of truth that the society, where-with he is now in communion, is more agreeable to the will of God, asserted that they were a church and attended the worship of God together, and do judge themselves bound so to do, the ground whereof he said he gave in the generall court.

Thomas Goold answered, that as for coming to publique worship they did meet in publique worship according to the rule of Christ, the grounds whereof they had given to the court of assistants, asserted that they were a publique meeting, according to the order of Christ Jesus gathered together.

John George answered, that he did attend the publique meetings on the Lord's dayes where he was a member ; asserted that they were a church according to the order of Christ in the gospell, and with them he walked and held communion in the publique worship of God on the Lord's dayes.

Whereas at the general court in October last, and at the court of assistants in September last endeavours were used for their conviction. The order of the generall court declaring the said Goold and company to be no orderly church assembly and that they stand convicted of high presumption against the Lord and his holy appoyntments was openly read to them and is on file with the records of this court.

The court sentenced the said Thomas Goold, Thomas Osburne and John George, for their absenting themselves from the publique worship of God on the Lords dayes, to pay foure pounds fine, each of them, to the county order. And whereas by their owne confessions they stand convicted
of

of persisting in their schismaticall assembling themselves together, to the great dishonour of God and our profession of his holy name, contrary to the act of the generall court of Oſtober laſt prohibiting them therein on penalty of imprisonment, this court doth order their giving bond reſpectively in 20*l.* each of them, for their appearance to answer their contempt at the next court of aſſiſtants.

[401] The abovenamed Thomas Goold, John George, and Thomas Osburne made their appeale to the next court of aſſiſtants, and reſuſing to put in ſecurity according to law were committed to priſon.

Vera copia, Tho. Danforth, Record.

Copy of a Letter from Sir Richard Saltonſtall to Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wilſon.⁹⁸

Reverend and deare friends, whom I unfaynedly love and reſpect,

IT doth not a little grieve my ſpirit* to heare what ſadd things are reported dayly of your tyranny and perſecutions in New-England, as that you fyne, whip and imprifon men for their conſciences. Firſt, you compell ſuch to come into your aſſemblyes as you know will not joyne with you in your worſhip, and when they ſhew their diſlike thereof or witneſ againſt it, then you ſtyrre up your magiſtrates to puniſh them for ſuch (as you conceyve) their publicke affronts

⁹⁸ This letter of Sir Richard Saltonſtall was ſent me by the Rev. Mr. Mather, but too late to be brought into the collection in order of time. I have not ſeen any other of Sir Richard's manuſcripts and am very loth he ſhould not have the credit of this. It may well enough follow the ſentence againſt Gould. It diſcovers a good deal of that catholic ſpirit which too many of our firſt ſettlers were deſtitute of, and confirms what I have ſaid of Mr. Dudley's zeal in the firſt volume of the Maſſachuſets Hiſtory. H.

affronts. Truly, friends, this your practice of compelling any in matters of worship to doe that whereof they are not fully perswaded, is to make them sin, for soe the apostle (Rom. 14 and 23.) tells us, and many are made hypocrites thereby, conforming in their outward man for feare of punishment. We pray for you and wish you prosperitie every way, hoped the Lord would have given you so much light and love there, that you might have been eyes to God's people here, and not to practice those courses in a wilderness, which you went so farre to prevent. These rigid wayes have layed you very lowe in the hearts of the [402] saynts. I doe assure you I have heard them pray in the publique assemblies that the Lord would give you meeke and humble spirits, not to stryve soe much for uniformity as to keepe the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace,

When I was in Holland about the beginning of our warres, I remember some christians there that then had serious thoughts of planting in New-England, desired me to write to the governor thereof to know if those that differ from you in opinion, yet houlding the same foundation in religion, as Anabaptists, Seekers, Antinomians, and the like, might be permitted to live among you, to which I received this short answer from your then governour Mr. Dudley, God forbid (said he) our love for the truth should be growne soe could that we should tolerate errours, and when (for satisfaction of myself and others) I desired to know your grounds, he referred me to the books written here between the Presbyterians and Independents, which if that had been sufficient, I needed not have sent soe farre to understand the reasons of your practice, I hope you doe not assume to yourselves infallibillitie of judgment, when the most learned of the Apostles confesseth he knew but in parte and sawe but darkely as through a glasse, for God is light, and no further than he doth illuminate us can we see, be our partes and learning never soe great. Oh that all those who are
brethren,

brethren, though yet they cannot thinke and speake the same things might be of one accord in the Lord. Now the God of patience and consolation grant you to be thus mynded towards one another, after the example of Iesus Christ our blessed Savyor, in whose everlasting armes of protection hee leaves you who will never leave to be

Your truly and much affectionate
friend in the nearest union,

Ric. Saltonstall.

For my reverend and worthy much
esteemed friends Mr. Cotton and
Mr. Wilson, preachers to the church
which is at Boston in New-England,
give this.

[403] Copy of Mr. Cotton's Answer to a Letter from
Sir Richard Saltonstall.⁹⁹

Honoured and deare Sir,

MY brother Wilson and selfe doe both of us acknowledge your love, as otherwise formerly, so now in the late lines wee received from you, that you grieve in spirit to heare dayly complaints against us, it springeth from your compassion of our afflictions therein, wherein wee see just cause to desire you may never suffer like injury yourselfe, but may finde others to compassionate and condole with you. For when the complaints you hear of are against our tyranny and persecutions in fining, whipping and imprisoning

⁹⁹ If this Letter should be thought, in some parts of it, not equal to what might be expected from the general character of the writer, the reader will attribute it to the prevailing bigotry of the age, and the cause which he undertook to defend. H.

soning men for their consciences, be pleased to understand wee looke at such complaints as altogether injurious in respect of ourselves, who had noe hand or tongue at all to promote either the coming of the persons you ayme at into our assemblyes, or their punishment for their carriage there. Righteous judgment will not take up reports, much lesse reproaches, against the innocent. The cry of the sinnes of Sodome was great and loude and reached up to heaven; yet the righteous God (giving us an example what to doe in the like case) he would first goe downe to see whether their crime were altogether according to the cry, before he would proceede to judgement, Gen. 18. 20, 21. and when he did finde the truth of the cry, he did not wrap up all alike promiscuously in the judgement, but spared such as he found innocent; wee are amongst those whom (if you knew us better) you would account of (as the matron of Abel spake of herselfe) peaceable in Israel, 2 Sam. 20. 19. Yet neither are wee so vast in our indulgence or toleration as to thinke the men [404] you speake of suffered an unjust censure. For one of them (Obadiah Holmes) being an excommunicate person himselfe, out of a church in Plymouth patent, came into this jurisdiction and took upon him to baptize, which I thinke himselfe will not say he was compelled here to performe. And he was not ignorant that the rebaptizing of an elder person, and that by a private person out of office and under excommunication, are all of them manifest contestations against the order and government of our churches established (wee know) by Gods law, and (he knoweth) by the lawes of the country. And wee conceive wee may safely appeale to the ingenuity of your owne judgement, whether it would be tolerated in any civill state, for a stranger to come and practise contrary to the knowne principles of their church-estate? As for his whipping, it was more voluntarily chosen by him than inflicted on him. His censure by the court was to have payed (as I know) 30 pounds or else to be whipt,

whipt, his fine was offered to be payed by friends for him freely; but he chose rather to be whipt; in which case, if his suffering of stripes was any worship of God at all, surely it could be accounted no better than will-worship. The other (Mr. Clarke) was wiser in that point and his offence was lesse, so was his fine lesse, and himselfe (as I heare) was contented to have it payed for him, whereupon he was released. The imprisonment of either of them was noe detriment. I believe they fared neither of them better at home, and I am sure Holmes had not been so well clad of many yeares before.

But be pleased to consider this point a little further. You thinke to compell men in matter of worship is to make men sinne, according to Rom. 14. 23. If the worship be lawfull in itselfe, the magistrate compelling him to come to it compelleth him not to sinne, but the sinne is in his will that needs to be compelled to a christian duty. Josiah compelled all Israel, or (which is all one) made to serve the Lord their God, 2 Chron. 34. 33. yet his act herein was not blamed but recorded amongst his virtuous actions. For a governour to suffer any within his gates to prophane [405] the sabbath, is a sinne against the 4th commandment, both in the private householder and in the magistrate; and if he requires them to present themselves before the Lord, the magistrate sinneth not, nor doth the subject sinne so great a sinne as if he did refraine to come. If the magistrate connive at his absenting himselfe from sabbath duties the sinne will be greater in the magistrate than can be in the others passive coming. Naamans passive going into the house of Rimmon did not violate the peace of his conscience, 2 Kings 5. 18, 19. Bodily presence in a stewes, forced to behold the leudnesse of whoredomes there committed, is noe whoredome at all. Noe more is it spirituall whoredome to be compelled by force to goe to masse.

But

But (say you) it doth but make men hypocrites, to compell men to conforme the outward man for feare of punishment. If it did so, yet better to be hypocrites than prophane persons. Hypocrites give God part of his due, the outward man, but the prophane person giveth God neither outward nor inward man.

Your prayers for us wee thankfully accept, and wee hope God hath given us so much light and love (which you thinke wee want) that if our native country were more zealous against horrid blasphemies and heresies than wee be, wee believe the Lord would looke at it as a better improvement of all the great salvations he hath wrought for them than to sett open a wide doore to all abominations in religion. Doe you thinke the Lord hath crowned the state with so many victories that they should suffer so many miscreants to pluck the crown of soveraignty from Christs head? Some to deny his godhead, some his manhood; some to acknowledge noe Christ, nor heaven, nor hell, but what is in a mans selfe? Some to deny all churches and ordinances, and so to leave Christ noe visible kingdome upon earth? And thus Christ by easing England of the yoke of a kingdome shall forfeit his owne kingdome among the people of England. Now God forbid, God from heaven forbid, that the people and state of England should so ill requite the Lord Jesus. You [406] know not, if you thinke wee came into this wildernesse to practise those courses here which wee fled from in England. Wee believe there is a vast difference betweene mens inventions and God's institutions; wee fled from mens inventions, to which wee else should have beene compelled; wee compell none to mens inventions.

If our wayes (rigid wayes as you call them) have layd us low in the hearts of God's people, yea and of the saints (as you stile them) wee doe not believe it is any part of their saintship. Michal had a low esteeme of Davids zeale, but he
was

was never a whit lower in the sight of God, nor she higher.

What you wrote out of Holland to our then governor Mr. Dudley, in behalfe of Anabaptists, Antinomians, Seekers, and the like, it seemeth, mett with a short answer from him, but zealous; for zeale will not beare such mixtures as coldnesse or lukewarmenesse will, Revel. 2. 2. 14. 15. 20. Neverthelesse, I tell you the truth, wee have tolerated in our church some Anabaptists, some Antinomians, and some Seekers, and do so still at this day; though Seekers of all others have least reason to desire toleration in church fellowship. For they that deny all churches and church ordinances since the apostacy of Antichrist, they cannot continue in church fellowship but against their owne judgment and conscience; and therefore 4 or 5 of them who openly renounced the church fellowship which they had long enjoyed, the church said amen to their act, and (after serious debate with them till they had nothing to answer) they were removed from their fellowship. Others carry their dissent more privately and inoffensively, and so are borne withall in much meekenesse. Wee are farr from arrogating infallibility of judgement to ourselves or affecting uniformity; uniformity God never required, infallibility he never granted us. Wee content ourselves with unity in the foundation of religion and of church order: Superstructures wee suffer to varie; wee have here presbyterian churches as well as congregational, and have learned (through grace) to keepe the unity of the spirit in the bond [407] of peace; onely wee are loth to be blowne up and downe (like chaff) by every winde of new notions.

You see how desirous wee are to give you what satisfaction wee may to your loveing exhortation, which wee pray you to accept with the same spirit of love wherewith it is endited. The Lord Jesus guide and keepe your heart for ever in the
wayes

wayes of his trueth and peace. So humbly commending our due respect and hearty affection to your worship, wee take leave and rest.¹⁰⁰

Copy of a Letter¹⁰¹ from Col. Richard Nicolls to the Governor and Assistants of the Massachusetts.

Gentlemen,

I HAVE lately heard that his Majesty hath authorized and required you to reduce Canada to his Majesty's obedience, therefore I thinke it my duty (for several respects) to give you advertisement of an opportunity which presents it selfe towards the facilitating (if not wholly effecting) the worke at once. For I have received letters yesterday that the French were marching (in number according to Indjans computation about 700 men) towards Albany. I presume they will not openly professe themselves enemies to us, till they have either vanquisht the Mohaukes, or made peace with them; however I have strengthened my garrison in the fort to withstand their attempts; hereof I have also sent governor Winthrop an account, and cannot imagine any reason to the contrary why so faire an advantage against the French should bee let slip, since his Majesty's directions therein are so positive. And truly if from your colony a speedy force of horse and dragoones, not exceeding 150, would march and joyne with a proportionable number of Conecticott colony, in all probability few of the French could

¹⁰⁰ This and the next preceding Letter are without date. Sir Richard was never in New England after 1631. These Letters must have been wrote between 1645 and 1653. H.

¹⁰¹ This is printed in Documents relating to the Colonial Hist. of N. Y., Vol. III, 120. A.

could return to Canada, whose whole strength is now so far engaged from home, [408] and by consequence the rest of the French will not be able to make any considerable resistance; the necessity of your speedy determination is so evident, that I shall not make use of other arguments, only assuring you of my utmost endeavours to serve his Majesty upon this occasion in the defence of his dominions, not doubting but that the common safety is precious to you, although the danger at present more immediately threatens this colony; I remitt the consideration of the premises to your serious thoughts, and remaine your very affectionate friend and servant,

• Richard Nicolls.

Fort James in New-York,
July the 6th 1666.

Copy of a Letter from the King's Commissioners to the
Governor, &c. of the Massachusetts.

Gentlemen,

ALthough wee were credibly informed before your generall court sate in September last, and by divers circumstances were jealous that the signification of his Majesties pleasure to yourselves, under his Majesties signe manuell and subscribed by Sir William Morice, principall secretary of state, would not meet with a full compliance in your generall court; yet wee were loth to credit reports so derogatory to your dutifull submission to his Majesties commandes; and having seene the copy of an humble addresse to your generall court, under the hands of many considerable persons eminent for loyalty and estates within your jurisdiction, wherein the

the petitioners did, with a modest importunity, offer to their representatives their deep sense of the calamities which may ensue, if his Majesties just displeasure should be kindled against the disobedient, wee were full of hopes that the generall court would have given his Majestie due satisfaction to his commands, and particular thanks to those gentlemen the petitioners : But being fully informed that your resolutions are neither to send Mr. Richard Bellingham, your [409] present governor, with Major Hawthorne, who are expressly required upon their allegiance to attend his Majestie, nor to make your choice of two or three other persons, as his Majesty is pleased to direct you ; and further, that you have not only discountenanced but laid heavy charges against those loyall and dutifull petitioners, wee conceive ourselves, at last, highly obliged (as commissioners from his Majestie) solemnly to manifest, declare and protest, in the name and behalfe of his Majestie.

1. First, That his Majesties signification of his pleasure to his colony of the Massachusetts is an originall signed by his Majestie, subsigned by Sir William Morice principall secretary of state,¹⁰² which ought to be received for authentick in all his Majesties dominions, and is so entertained in all the other his Majesties colonies in New-England, to their joy and satisfaction, though with some blot upon record in your scutcheon.

2. Secondly, that his Majestie will be justly displeased with your resolutions against sending the persons nominated in the signification, with such others as you are positively commanded to make your owne choice of, to attend his Majestie, who expects from all his subjects obedience, as much more acceptable than sacrifice.

3. Thirdly, That his Majesty cannot but approve of that
humble

¹⁰² See Appendix to Massa. Hist. Vol. I. p. 547. H.

humble petition¹⁰³ presented to your generall court, and by the lawes of England (which must be the touch-stone) those gentlemen ought not to be molested, fined, or imprisoned for any matters contained in the said petition, so full of duty to his Majestie, of respect to your generall court, and tending to the peace and welfare of the whole colony.

4. Lastly, Wee ourselves, fully concurring with the substance and to those good ends manifested in the petition, doe earnestly sollicit you to resume the whole matter into your most serious consideration, that his Majestie may bee honoured with the reall obedience of his subjects, and thereby encouraged plentifully to pour forth the riches of his goodnes upon his colony of the Massachusetts, to which we are hearty well wishers and will contribute our best [410] endeavours at all times and in all places, when by your submission to his Majestie, wee shall be encouraged to remaine
Your very affectionate friends

and servants,

His Majesties Commissioners for New-England,

Fort James at New-
Yorke, Nov. 3d,
1666.

Richard Nicolls,
Robert Carr,
Samuell Mavericke.

Copy of a Letter from Governour Bellingham to
Secretary Rawson.

Mr. Secretary,

THE letter which came under a cover to yourselfe from the hon. Col. Nichols, Sir Robert Carr, and Mr. Samuel

¹⁰³ This petition is printed on page 511 of this Collection, and also, with the names of the gentlemen who signed it, in the Collections of Mass. Hist. Soc., XVIII, 103.

muel Mavericke, of the 3d instant, directed to myfelfe and the affiftants of this colony, I received the 10th at evening, and have perufed with fuch of the magiftrates as are adjacent, and finding the contents thereof do refer to the a&tings of the generall court. You may informe Mr. Mavericke that the generall court being diffolved fundry dayes fince, their returne to the honorable Sir William Morrice is difpatched by the fhips gone for England in the laft month, yet at the firft opportunity for the affiftants meeting this letter fhall be communicated according to the dire&tion thereof, not elfe at prefent.

I am your loving friend.

Boston, 13th 9mo. 1666.

Ri. Bellingham, Gov.

with the confent of thofe prefent.

Prefent, Fr. Willoughby, Efq; Dep. Gov,
Capt. Daniel Gookin,
Mr. Ri. Ruffell,
Maj. Gen. Leverett,
Mr. Thomas Danforth.

[411] Copy of a Letter from Mr. John Leverett to
Sir Robert Carr, Knt.

Sir,

THERE being a complaint exhibited againft you and your fervant James Deane, of your royatous and abusive carriag to one of his Majefty's officers, Richard Bennet, one of the conftables of this towne, on Saturday laft in the evening, being the 19th instant, at the houfe of John Vyal, vintner. Thefe are to fignifye to you that a
hearing

hearing thereof is apoynted upon Wednesday the 23d, betweene nine and ten of the clocke in the morning, at my house; from some considerations I have chosen this way to give you notice thereof, that you, with your man, may be present to give answer to what may be alledged against you, and the honour and authority of his Majestie, in his officers, may be preserved, with the greatest respect to yourselfe the case will admit of, wherefore your presence, with your man, at the time and place is desired. In the interim, your speedy answer by the bearer, Capt William Davis, to

Sir, Your servant,

Boston, 22 January 1666.

John Leverett.

Copy of a Letter from Colonel Nicolls to the Governor
and Councill of the Massachusetts.

Honoured Gentlemen,

BY the hands of Mr. Samuel Mavericke, one of his Majesties commissioners for New-England, you will receive herewith the perfect copy of his Majesties commands, which came lately to my hands, wherein you will reade with how much prudence and tender care his Majestie reflects upon the safety and wellfare of his remote colonies. When you have perused the same, I will not [412] doubt of your readinesse to comply, not onely to that good end, but with the meanes, wayes and persons, which his Majestie is pleased to direct in that businesse; as you may more at large finde in his Majesties warrant to his commissioners. Upon conference with Mr. Samuell Maverick and the countenance of your authority, the full contents of his Majesties commands may be easily put in practise. In sending this copy of his
Majesties

Majesties commands to his commissioners unto yourselves, I have obeyed my orders and directions from my Lord Arlington, principall secretary of state, and remaine

Your very humble servant,

Fort James in New-York,
May the 9th, 1667.

Richard Nicolls.

Copy of a Narrative of the Commissioners from
England, about New-England.

THE colony of Conecticote returned their humble thanks to his Majesty for his gracious letters and for sending commissioners to them, and made great promises of their loyalty and obedience. And they did submit to have appeales made to his Majesties commissioners, who did hear and determine some differences among them. All formes of justice passe only in his Majestyes name, they admit all that desire it to be of their corporation ; they will not hinder any from enjoying the sacraments and using the common prayer book, provided that they hinder not the maintenance of the publick minister ; they will amend any thing that hath been done derogatory to his Majestyes honour, if there be any such thing, so soone as they shall come to the knowledge of it. The bounds betwixt the Dukes province and Conecticote were mistaken by wrong information, for it was not intended that they should come nearer to Hudson's river then twenty miles, yet the line was set downe by the commissioners to goe from such a poynt N. N. W. whereas it ought to goe [413] just N. otherwise the line will goe into Hudsons river. They have nothing to say against Duke Hamiltons pattent, but their writings were burnt, and that they bought the land of the Lord Say and Brook and others,
and

and that his Majesty hath confirmed it to them, and that they never knew that the late Marquis Hamilton had a graunt of it, for he never sent any to take possession of it or to inhabit upon it. Their eastern bounds are determined to be a line drawn westward from the midst of the road Pawtucket river, neere to Shaws house. Their northern bounds is the south line of the Massachusetts, which, as the collony complains, is stretched much too southerly. This colony hath many good rivers and harbours, many scattering towns not worthy of their names, and a scoller to their minister in every town or village, but noe places fortified except Seabrook fort, which is much gone to decay, and here, for the most part, they are rigid presbyterians.

The colony of Road Island and Providence plantations returned their humble thanks to his Majesty for sending commissioners and made great demonstration of their loyalty and obedience. They approved, as most reasonable, that appeals should be made to his Majestyes commissioners, who having heard and determined some causes among them, referred other some, in civility, to their generall court, and some to the governor and others; some of which causes they again remitted to the commissioners to be determined. All proceedings are in his Majestyes name, they admit all to be freemen that desire it; they allow liberty of conscience and worship to all who live civilly, and if any can inform them of any thing in their lawes or practises derogatory to his Majestyes honour, they will amend it. The Marquis of Hamiltons pattent takes in all Road Island colony and about half of Conecticote. The Narhiganfet Sachims did in the year 1664, by writing, surrender themselves, their people and country, into the late Kings protection; two of which Sachims, now living, did actually, in their own persons, surrender themselves, people and country, into his royall Majestyes protection before his com-[414]missioners, and
delivered

delivered to them that very deed made in 1664, which had been carefully kept by Mr. Gorton, &c. whereupon the commissioners, according to their instructions, entred upon the country in his Majestyes name and have named it the Kings province, have taken the natives into his Majestyes protection, and have appoynted justices of the peace to govern it untill his Majestyes pleasure be farther known. For this Narhyganset country is almost all the land belonging to the country, the which cannot subsist without it, and therefore the commissioners ordered that the magistrates for the colony should be justices of the peace for the Kings province, that noe difference may arise betwixt the officers. The Sachims did thankfully receive the two coates presented to them in his Majestyes name. In acknowledgment of their subjection they are to pay yearly, upon the 26th of May, two wolf skins to his Majesty, and did now send two caps of peague and two clubs inlayed with peague for a present to the King, and a feather mantle and a porcupine bag for a present to the Queen, which ware all taken by the Dutch. One of these princes, named Passicus, desired the commissioner to pray King Charles that noe strong liquor might be brought into that country, for he had 32 men that died by drinking of it. These Indian princes gave a long petition to the commissioners, complaining of many acts of violence and injustice which the Massachusets had done to them: Among others, they first caused them to be fined, then tooke their whole country in mortgage (according to the remonstrance sent to his Majesty) and would have juggled them out of it; but there could be noe redresse, the Massachusets refusing to let the commissioners have the hearing of appeals. Their western bounds are determined with Conecticote, their northern bounds must be the Massachusets southern line, wherever it falls (which they complain to be too southerly) their eastern bounds betwixt them and New Plymouth could not

not be determined by consent of both parties (Road Island claiming a shred of land 3 miles broad all the length of the maine land lying next to [415] the Narhyganfet island, which they of New Plymouth could not part with without great prejudice) whereupon commissioners appoynted the water (the naturall bounds of each colony) to be their present bounds, untill his Majestyes pleasure be farther known. Mr. William Brenton, deputy governor of Road Island, having bought a farm upon that shred of land which he hoped would belong to that colony, humbly desires his Majesty that he may continue to possesse that farme though it falls within the line of New Plymouth, and Doctor Alcock, a physician, having bought Block Island for 400*l.* of some of Boston, who took upon them power (never graunted them) to sell it, and having been at great charges in planting of it, desires his Majesty that he may not be dispossessed of it, he humbly submitting to the government of Road Island; both these petitions to his Majesty are lost. This colony, which admits of all religions, even Quakers and Gennerallists, was begun by such as the Massachusets would not suffer to live among them and is generally hated by the other colonyes, who endeavoured severall wayes to suppress them; they maintained severall other Indians against the Narhyganfet Indians. The commissioners of the united colonyes disposed of a great part of this country, pretending they had conquered it from the Pequod Indians, but evidence being made that the Narhyganfets had conquered it before the English began their war, and that the right was in him who had sold it to the Road Islanders, and his Majestyes commissioners not thinking it justifiable for any colony to dispose of land without their own lymits, determined it for the Road Islanders. The Massachusets did maintain Pumham (a petty Sachim in this province) twenty years against this colony and his chief Sachim, and did, by armed foldiers, besiedge and take prisoners

Mr.

Mr. Gorton, Howden, Weeks, Green and others in this province, and carryed them to Boston, put them in chains, and took eighty head of cattle from them, for all which they could never yet get satisfaction. This colony could never be acknowledged for a colony till his Majesty's [416] charter was published, though in the year 1643 they sent over some into England to procure the King's charter then, but finding that unnaturall war begun, and the King gone from London, they took a charter from the lords and commons, which was more then Newhaven did pretend to, and more then Conecticot could shew, yet these two were admitted colonies in their great combination, and Road Island slighted. The Narhyganset bay is the largest and safest port in New-England nearest the sea and fittest for trade; this colony hath two scattered towns upon Road Island, two upon the maine land, and four small villages; here only yet is lime stone found, and here only the governour and magistrates serve the publick at their own charge. In this colony is the greatest number of Indians, yet they had never any thing allowed towards the civillizing and converting the Indians, and in this colony they have the greatest playnes, but noe place of strength fortified, altho' many places capable of fortification. In this province is the best English grasse and most sheep, the ground very fruitfull, ewes bringing ordinarily two lambs, corn yields eighty for one, and in some places they have had corn twenty six years together without manuring. In this province only they have not any places sett apart for the worship of God, there being soe many subdivided sects they cannot agree to meet together in one place, but according to their severall judgments they sometimes associate in one house sometimes in another.

The colony of New-Plymouth did submit to have appeals made to the commissioners, who here had but one plaint to them, which was, that the governour would not let a man
enjoy

enjoy a farm of four miles square which he had bought of an Indian, the complaint soone submitted to the governor when he understood the unreasonableness by it. They are here constrained to perswade men, sometimes to compell them, to be free men, soe far are they from hindering any. This colony is seated on a neck of land the baranest part of the country. They were the first planters in New-England, though the Mattachusetts got the [417] first charter, and since hath much streightned this colony by stretching their line so much southerly. They shewed their charter and gave a copy of it to their commissioners, and told them they were so poore they could not renew it; whereupon the commissioners took occasion to offer to get their charter renewed and delivered to them at the commissioners own charge, if, for a further demonstration of their loyalty, they would let his Majesty choose one of three (whose names themselves should send to the King) to be their governor, and this to be done every 3 yeare, or every 5 years, which they thought best. The commissioners thought if this had succeeded in this the first colony they had visited it might have been a good example for the rest; but after the generall assembly had considered of it, with many thanks to the commissioners and great protestations of their loyalty to the King, they chose to be as they were. They have about twelve small towns, one saw mill for boards, one bloomy for iron, neither good river nor good harbour, nor any place of strength; they are soe poore, they are not able to maintain scollers to their ministers, but are necessitated to make use of a giufted brother in some places.

The collony of the Massachusetts was the last and hardliest perswaded to use his Majestyes name in the forms of justice. In this collony, at the first coming over of the commissioners, were many untruths raised and sent into the collonyes, as that the King had sent to raise 5000*l.* yearly for his Majestyes use, whereupon Major Hawthorne made a seditious speech at the

head of his company, and the late Governor another at their meeting house in Boston, but neither of them were soe much as questioned for it by any of their magistrates. The commissioners visited all other collonyes before this, hoping both that the submission and condescension of the other collonyes to his Majestyes desires would have abated the refractorinesse of this collony, which they much feared, and that the assistance of Colonel Nicholls (whome they expected) would have prevailed much : But neither examples nor reasons could prevaile [418] with them to let the commissioners hear and determine soe much as those particular cases (Mr. Deanes and the Indian Sachims) which the King had commanded them to take care of and doe justice in : And though the commissioners, who never desired they should appear as delinquents but as defendents, either by themselves or by their attorneys, assured them that if they had been unjustly complained of to his Majesty, their false accusers should be severely punished, and their just dealing made known to his Majesty and all the world, yet they proclaimed by sound of trumpet¹⁰⁴ that the generall court was the supreamest judicatory in all that province, that the commissioners pretending to hear appeals was a breach of their priviledges graunted them by the Kings royall father and confirmed to them by his Majestyes own letter, and that they should not permitt it ; by which they have for the present silenced above 30 petitions which desired justice against them, and were all lost at sea. To elude his Majestyes desire of their admitting men civill and of competent estates to be freemen, they have made an act, whereby he that is 24 years old, a housekeeper, and brings a certificate of his civill life, another of his being orthodox in matters of faith, and a third of his paying ten shillings, beside head money, at a single rate, may then have liberty to make his desires known to the court, and then it shall be put to vote. The commissioners examined many townships,

¹⁰⁴ See Massachusetts Records, Vol. IV, part 2, page 150. A.

townships, and found that scarce three in a hundred pay ten shillings at a single rate; yet, if this rate were generall it would be just; but he that is a church member, though he be a servant and pay not two pence, may be a freeman: They will not admitt any who is not a member of their church to communion, nor their children to baptisme, yet they will marry their children to those whome they will not admitt to baptisme, if they be rich: They did imprison and barbarously use Mr. Jourdan for baptizing children, as himself complained in his petition to the commissioners. Those whom they will not admitt to the communion they compell to come to their sermons, by forcing from them five shillings for every [419] neglect; yet these men thought their paying one shilling for not coming to prayers in England was an unsupportable tyranny: They have put many Quakers to death, of other provinces, for which also they are petitioned against; first they banished them, as Quakers, upon payn of death, and then executed them for returning: They have beate some to jelly, and have been otherwayes exceeding cruell to others, and they say the king allows it in his letters to them; indeed they have misconstrued all the king's letters to their own sence. They yet pray constantly for their persecuted brethren in England. They have many things in their laws derogatory to his Majesty's honor, of which the commissioners made a breviat and desired that they might be altered, but they have yet done nothing in it; among others, whoever keeps Christmas day is to pay five pounds. They caused at length a mapp of their territoryes to be made, but it was made in a chamber by direction and guesse:¹⁰⁵ in it they claim fort Albany, and beyond it all the land to the south sea. By their south sea line they intrench upon the colonys of New Plymouth, Road Island and Conesticote; and in the east they have usurped Capt. Mafons and Sir Ferdinando Gorges pattents; and said that the commissioners had nothing

¹⁰⁵ Compare the order in Massachusetts Records, Vol. IV, part 2, p. 145. A.

thing to doe betwixt them and Mr. Gorges, because his Majesty neither commanded them to deliver possession to Mr. Gorges, or to give his Majesty reason why they did not. The commissioners being at Periscataqua when they received his Majestyes letter which commanded them to see the harbours fortified, &c. sent their warrants to four towns upon that river, requiring them to meet at such a time and place to hear his Majestyes letter read, one of these warrants was sent post to Boston, from whence two marshalls are sent from the governor and counsell with another warrant to forbid the towns either to meet or doe any thing commanded them by the commissioners, at their utmost perills; and withall sent an unbecoming letter to the commissioners, both which letter and warrant were lost at sea. Col. Whaley and Gough were entertained by the magistrates with great solemnity and feasted in every place, [420] after they were told they were traytors and ought to be apprehended; they made their abode at Cambridge untill they were furnished with horses and a guide and sent away to Newhaven; for their more security, Capt. Daniell Gookin is reported to have brought over and to manage their estates; and the commissioners being informed that he had many cattle at his farm in the Kings province which were supposed to be Whalys or Goughs, caused them to be seized for his Majestyes use, till further order, but Capt. Gookin, standing upon the privilege of their charter and refusing to answer before the commissioners, as foe, there was noe more done in it; Capt. Peirce who transported Whaly and Gough into New England may probably say something to their estate. They of this colony say that King Charles the first gave them power to make lawes and to execute them, and graunted them a charter as a warrant against himself and his successors, and that so long as they pay the fifth part of all gold and silver oare which they shall gett they shall be free to use the privileges graunted them, and that they are not obliged to the King

King but by civillity ; they hope by writing to tire the King, Lord Chancellor and Secretaries too ; seaven years they can easily spin out by writing, and before that time a change may come, nay, some have dared to say, who knows what the event of this Dutch war will be ? This colony furnished Cromwell with many instruments out of their corporation and their collidg, and those that have retreated thether since his Majesty's happy return are much respected, and many advanced to be magistrates. They did solicit Cromwell, by one Mr. Winflow, to be declared a free state, and many times in their lawes stiling themselves this state, this common wealth, and now beleve themselves to be soe. They demand what taxes they please, but their accounts could never yet be seen. Some few soldiers they keep at their castle ; their governor hath 100*l.* yearly, every magistrate 30*l.* They convert Indians by hiring them to come and hear sermons, by teaching them not to obey their heathen Sachims, and by appoynting rulers [421] amongst them over tens, twentyes, fiftyes. The lives manners and actions of those whom they say are converted, cannot be distinguished from those who are not, except it be by being hired to hear sermons, which the more generous natives scorn. This colony, which hath ingrossed the whole trade of New-England and is therefore the richest, hath many townes, but not one regularly built within its just limitts, which the commissioners suppose to be Seconett brook on the S. W. and Merimack river on the N. E. and two right lines drawn from each of those two places, till they come within 20 miles of Hudson river, for that river is already planted and given to his royall highness. Boston is the chief town in it, and seated upon a peninsula in the bottom of a bay, which is a good harbour and full of fish. It was fortified this year 1665 with two block houses, they had, before, a castle upon an island in the roade where ships must passe, about 5 or 6 miles from the town. Their houses are generally wooden, their streets
crooked,

crooked, with little decency and noe uniformity and, there, neither months, dayes, seasons of the year, churches nor inns are known by their English names. At Cambridg they have a wooden collidg and, in the yard, a brick pile of two bayes for the Indians, where the commissioners saw but one; they said they had 3 or more at scooll. It may be feared this collidg may afford us many scismaticks to the church, and the corporation as many rebels to the king, as formerly they have done, if not timely prevented. In this colony too the king hath many loyall subjects, who petitioned this general court at his Majesty's first coming in, for the owning of his Majesty, and now lastly for complying with his Majesty's commissioners, but have had neither answer nor good look since; they are sorry that soe few (for there are scarce above 8 of the most factious) should carry on soe strong a faction, yet they are so over-awed that they can doe nothing to remedy it. They only say it is now with them as it was with the king's party in Cromwell's time; one of those was derided for being soe civill to accompany one of the [422] commissioners from the town where he lived to Boston, and others in Boston derided those of Road Island for having yielded soe much to the commissioners. In Boston lyes 10 iron guns brought from the French fort taken in Cromwell's time, which would doe well at Pescataqua to defend the mouth of that river, where the masts are laden, if they be the king's. On the 10th of September 1664 they published by order of court a paper to deter and affrighten all from making any complaints to the commissioners. The commodities of the country are fish, which is sent into France, Spain and the Streights, pipe staves, masts, firr boards, some pitch and tarr, pork, beef, horses, and corn, which they send to Virginia, Barbados, &c. and take tobacko and sugar for payment, which they after send for England. There is good store of iron made in this province; their way of government is common wealth like; their way of worship is rude and called congregational,

congregational, they are zealous in it, for they persecute all other formes.

New-Hampshire is the name of a province granted to Capt. Robert Mason about the year 1635, and was to begin on the sea coast 3 miles E. of Merimack river, and reaches to Piscataqua, and 60 miles of that breadth up into the country; but now it is usurped by the Massachusetts who pretend that it is within their bounds, and that the people petitioned to be within their protection; it is true that difference of opinion made a division among them, and a few who were for congregational churches did petition for their assistance, by which occasion, partly by force and partly by composition, they have engrossed the whole and named it Norfolk. When the Massachusetts charter was first granted, the mouths only of the two rivers, Charles and Merimack, were known to them, for they durst not travell far up into the country, presently after there was a house erected three large miles from Merimack, which was for 17 years called and known to be the bounds of the Massachusetts, and in that time was this pattent granted to Capt. Mason. Mr. Wheelwright was banished out of the jurisdiction of Massachusetts and was [423] permitted to inhabit immediately beyond the bound house, as himself gave testimony before the commissioners. Mr. Mason had a pattent for some land about Cape Ann before the Massachusetts had their first pattent, whereupon Capt. Mason, and Mr. Cradock, who was the first governor of the Massachusetts and lived in London, agreed that the Massachusetts should have that land which was granted to Capt. Mason about Cape Ann, and Capt. Mason should have that land which was beyond Merimack river, and granted to the Massachusetts. This agreement was sent to Mr. Henry Joslin to get recorded at Boston, but before he could have leasure to goe thither he heard that Capt. Mason was dead, and therefore went not, of this he made affidavit before the commissioners, who forbore to doe
any

any thing about the limitts of this province till this might more fully be proved, though the generallity of the people petitioned^{*} to be taken from under the tyranny of the Massachusetts, as themselves stiled it. The Massachusetts, since they have had the government of this land, have graunted and divided the province into severall townships, which are very long and thin, three of which are seated upon Pescataqua river, which is a very good harbour and very capable of fortification; here are excellent mafts gotten, and here dry docks might be made, and upon the river are above twenty saw mills, and here are great store of pipe staves made, and great store of good timber spoyled.

The province of Mayne begins at the E. side of Pescataqua, and reacheth to Kennebeck river; it was named and graunted to Sir Ferdinando Gorges by King Charles the first, but was usurped also by the Massachusetts under pretence that it was within the limitts of their charter, and that the people petitioned to be under their government, and they named it Yorkshire. One gentleman,¹⁰⁶ who refused to submitt to the Massachusetts and suffered great losse by them, shewed the commissioners a warrant the Massachusetts made to have him brought to Boston alive or dead, and now demands justice against them. This province upon petition of the inhabitants and the diffe-[424]rence betwixt Mr. Gorges commissioners and the Massachusetts, his Majesty's commissioners took into his Majesty's protection and government, and appoynted justices of the peace to govern them untill his Majesty's pleasure be farther known. The inhabitants afterwards petitioned his Majesty that they might allways continue under his Majesty's immediate government, and that Sir Rob. Carr might continue their governor under his Majesty, which petition was lost at sea: In this province also lives an Indian Sachim, who lives neer to the great lake, from
whence

¹⁰⁶ This was John Bonython of Saco. See Massachusetts Records, Vol. IV, p. 343. A.

whence flowes Merimack river; petitioned his Majesty to take him into his protection, which was also lost. In this province there are but few townes and those much scattered, as generally they are throughout New-England; they are rather farmes than townes: But in this province there is a bay called Casco bay, in which are very many islands, two outletts to the sea, many good harbours and great store of fish and oysters, crabs and lobsters. In this province, as in all the rest there are great store of wild ducks, geese and deer in their seasons, strawberyes, rasberyes, goosberyes, barberyes, and severall sorts of billberyes, severall sorts of oaks and pines, chesnut trees, wallnut trees, sometimes for four or five miles together; the northerly the country the better the the timber is accounted: On the N. E. of Kenibeck river, which is the bounds of the province of Mayn, upon Shipscot river and upon Pemaquid, 8 or 10 miles asunder, are 3 small plantations belonging to his royall highnesse, the biggest of which hath above 30 houses in it, and those very mean ones too, and spread over 8 miles at least. Those people, for the most part, are fishermen and never had any government among them, most of them are such as have fled hether from other places to avoide justice. Some here are of opinion that as many men may share in a woman as they doe in a boat, and some have done soe. The commissioners, for necessity sake, have appoynted the best whom they could find, in each place, to be a justice of peace, and have ordered 3 of those justices of the peace in the province of Mayn, who live [425] next to them, to joyn with them in holding of sessions, till further order be taken. In these parts are the best white oaks for ship timber. All the lands graunted to his royall highnesse in these north parts of New England, except these 3 plantations, are also graunted to Sir Thomas Temple, in the pattent of Nova Scotia.¹⁰⁷

Copy

¹⁰⁷ This Narrative was undoubtedly the work of the Commissioners, or some Person employed by them. The prejudice against the Massachusetts Colony, where they met with the greatest opposition, appears in a strong light. H.

Copy of a Letter from the Governor and Assistants
of the Massachusetts Bay to Governor Willoughby
at Barbados.

Boston in New England, August 21. 1667.

Sir,

YOURS of July 1667 wee received by the hand of Capt. Henry Addy, who through the blessing of God arrived here safe the 14th of this instant. Some few dayes before whose arrivall a letter from his Excellency the Lord Willoughby, your honourable father, intimating the seasonableness of some present supply to be made from hence for the reliefe of his Majesties fleet with you, was received, and care taken speedily to provide and send such provisions as wee in our poor capacity are able, which provisions are now putting on board the good ship called the Hopewell, whereof under God Capt. John Allen is commander, and are appointed to be delivered to your honorable father, to be disposed for the ends abovesaid, as his Excellency in his wisdom shall see meet. Wee do acknowledge ourselves greatly obliged to his Excellency for his great favour and respects had for this his Majesties colony, the expressions whereof, cloathed with much love and candor, wee have fundry wayes good assurance that they are reall, and that his Lordship doth cordially seeke our peace, and should wee be wanting to a due acknowledgment thereof, wee hope wee should be the first that

[426] should blame ourselves for so great a neglect. In reference to your motion for provisions for the supply of Capt. Addy, wee have endeavoured to answer your proposall and expectation therein, although by reason of Gods having diminished our crops for fundry years past, by blasting, &c. especially our wheate, in conjunction with the present season of the year, when old store is spent, and new not being come in as yet, wee cannot in all respects accommodate him

as

as were meete, yet according to our capacity wee have endeavoured the same, as himselfe, wee doubt not, will more particularly enforme. And wee shall be ready from time to time to encourage our merchants and traders in their exportation of provisions for your further recrute to the uttermost of our power.

As to a supply of men from hence, your motion therein hath been also seriously weighed by us, and in sundry respects it doth not appeare feaseable to be effected, so as may be to the answering of your expectation, nor yet with the safety of this his Majesties colony at this juncture.

Sir, with a due acknowledgment of your honours great civility manifested in yours, and our hearty prayers to the God of heaven for his blessing to accompany all your lawfull endeavours for the suppressing of the common enemy of our King and nation, under whose guidance and protection wee leave you, and shall remayne

Sir,

Your honours wherein wee may
serve you,

R. B. Gov.

F. W. Dep. Gov.

In the name and by the order
of the Councill.

Voted by the Council, 1 August 1667.

E. R. S.

Copy

[427] Copy of a Letter¹⁰⁸ from Colonel Nicolls to the Governor and Assistants of the Massachusetts, respecting the Province of Maine.

Worthy Gentlemen,

I Was for some time past very unwilling to believe that you would reassume a power of government in the province of Mayne or Yorkeeshire, the absolute decision whereof is lodged with his Majesty; and surely it will appeare an open breach of duty that any of his Majestyes inferiour courtes should usurpe a power over townes and persons after it hath pleased his Majesty to signifie his pleasure to yourselves, in these following words: "And for the better preventing of all differences and disputes upon the bounds and lymitts of the seaverall collonyes, his Majestyes pleasure is, that all determinations made by his Majestyes sayd commissioners with reference to the sayd bounds and lymitts may still continue and be observed till upon a full representation of all pretences his Majesty shall make his owne finall determination," &c. Which very words you will finde in your owne letter from his Majesty, concluding thus: "And his Majesty expects that full obedience be given to this signification of his pleasure in all particulars. Given at the court at Whitehall, the 10th day of Aprill 1666, in the 18th year of his Majestyes raigne, by his Majestyes command, Wm. Morice." But I have now seene the order of your last generall court, in answer to the petition of some restlesse and unquiet spirits, wherein your resolution is already taken to send commissioners to keepe a court and to exercise justice, &c. as under your government. I know you have force enough to compell most of your neighbours to submitt to your government; but if you thinke his Majestyes arme will never be stretched forth

¹⁰⁸ This is printed in Documents relating to the Col. Hist. of N. Y., Vol. III, p. 170. A.

forth to defend his subjects from usurpation, you may attempt any thinge under the notion of settling peace and order. I dare not be silent in a matter soe expressly contradictory to his Majestyes signification, dated 10th Aprill 1666,¹⁰⁹ for though some of your greate [428] people have spread a report that the said signification was never knowne to or owned by his Majestie, and probably for that reason the generall court was induced to issue forth the aforesaid order, yet you are to expect that his Majesty will owne his hand, and Sir William Morris will require satisfaction for such scandalous aspersions upon him, being principall secretary of state. In short, you will finde that province already settled by his Majestyes commissioners in peace and order, except some few turbulent spirits. You may read his Majestie hath made a temporary confirmation thereof, why then are you soe hasty to enter upon a thinge of this nature, or how can you say that you have heard nothing since that might discourage or weaken your title to the said government? I am necessitated to write in these playne and large termes because the shortnesse of my tyme in these parts will not permit me to give you a visit, but will tell you my feares, that if you proceed to compell an alteration of government in the province of Mayne, by subverting there present establishment as it now stands circumstanced, in all likelyhood you may cause blood to be shed, for it is both naturall and lawfull for men to defend their fast rights against all invaders.

Gentlemen, I shall send a coppie of this my letter with an originall of his Majesties aforesaid signification to those gentlemen of the said province, and there leave the decision betwixt God and yourselves; my hearty wishes and prayers shall be to the Almighty that you may be endued with the spirit of obedience, charity, meekness and brotherly love, houlding yourselves within these bounds, you may be happie upon

¹⁰⁹ Appendix to Hist. Massa. Vol. I. p. 547. H.

upon all the poynts of the compafs, and I am fure noe man
can wifh you better than your affectionate humble fer-
vant,
Richard Nicolls.¹¹⁰

Fort James in New-Yorke, June 12th 1668.

For his much refpected friends the Governor
and Affiftants of his Majefties colony of
the Maffachufetts in Bofton.

[429] Copy of a Letter from feveral diffenting Minifters
in and about London to the Magiftrates and Minifters
in Maffachufets-Bay.

Right Worfhipfull, Reverend and Beloved,

WE received yours dated from Bofton Aug. 21. 1671.
directed to many of us, which alfo we have feveral
times confidered, as the providence of God hath permitted
to us opportunities of meeting together. The importance
of the contents thereof, together with the honor and refpect
we owe you all, obligeth us to return you fuch answer as we
are at prefent capable of, according to that difpofall which it
hath pleafed the infinitely wife God to make of us in our
ftations, and alfo of the conditions which he hath meafured
out to his people amongft whom he hath placed us, from
whom, as well as ourfelves, you cannot expect (as things
ftand with us) to receive that fruit that either your need calls
for or our love would produce, were we not ourfelves, to-
gether with the churches of Chrift in thefe nations, intangled
in

¹¹⁰ This Col. Nicolls appears to have been a very worthy good man, true to
his truft, but at the fame time difcreet; and he gained the efteem of the people of
the Maffachufetts, who loved the man when they were making oppofition to his
meafures. H.

in many straits, and thereby call'd to a more univerfall designment of what God hath graciously left his poor people to the supportation of the interest of his gospell and the ministers and professors thereof, whose daily relief depends, as to many counties, principally upon this citty, from whom also we must promise ourselves the greatest part if not all of that little we can hope to attain to, to expresse the value we have for the interest of our dear Lord Jesus amongst you, and more especially the promoting of the continuance of it in our assistance to the education of such as may by the blessing of his grace and spirit be usefull in their generation for the running and glorifying of his gospell in and by your numerous growing posterity.

As to the three branches of your letter, which comprize the whole of it, we doe according to the best of our judgments represent our thoughts to you, which we hope will be acceptable to you, as you may find in it any labor of love towards you.

[430] First, We join with you in that humble thankfulness which is due to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that he hath for so long a time planted and continued amongst you a school of the prophets, from whence have issued such instruments as God hath used for service to himself, even in both Englands, and heartily condole, that not only the dead stones, but also the living ones in that foundation are so much crumbled and diminished, and gladly would we contribute our helping hand to the repairing of the one and the reviving of the other, were our power suited to our wills. But upon consideration of the straits and troubles the ministers and churches of Christ are here wrestling with, and after consultation had with some wise and godly gentlemen, sincere lovers of you, we find in ourselves and them the concentrating of the same thoughts, that the exhausted purses of those that are most able to contribute, cannot reach any summe considerable towards the repair of the edifice, so many of God's
servants

servants here calling for daily relief, even of necessities to them and their impoverished families, yet have we advised about sending you what assistance God shall enable us unto for the maintenance of Fellows and Tutors for the instruction and education of youths, who may be bred up in good literature and fear of the Lord, for future employment in church and common-wealth, in which we can say there is a reall zeale for you and them in this great concerne. Several wayes have been proposed and debated, we cannot yet acquaint you with any fully determinate meanes for effecting, yet this we were willing to advise you of, that you are in our hearts, and that we are fully purposed (if the present liberty we have to meet be not interrupted by those presaged hurries which seeme to be in the womb of Providence coming upon us) to use all our indeavour to collect such summes of money (and so to dispose them by the best advice we can take) as may in time amount to some comfortable help towards the end which we specified before, in the service whereof we judge that which is most necessary for you (at least that we are capable of) may be attended.

[431] 2dly, As we desire to bleſs God with and for you, that ſo reverend and judicious a perſon as your preſident hath for ſo long a time been continued with you, and that ſo uſefully, ſo it is a grief of heart to us that there appeares none amongſt yourſelves to ſucceed him in that employment, and more that we cannot find perſons whoſe hearts God hath touched to goe over to you, in order to a ſupply of that expected loſſe which you mention; yet, if our advice herein be worth attending to, we would ſuggeſt, that it having pleaſed God to ſtirre up the heart of our beloved friend Dr. Hoar to intend a voyage towards you by this ſhipping, we do ſuppoſe a ſpeaking providence in it, and doe judge that God hath ſo farr furniſhed him with the gifts of learning and the grace of his ſpirit, as that if your judgments concurre with ours and his inclinations (if God ſhall bring him to you) he may in
ſome

some measure supply that want and help to make up this breach, and we shall hope and pray that it may be to some good fruit to you and yours.

3dly, For what concerns our promoting the sending of youths over to you for their education, wee can say no more but this, that where we find any inclined so to dispose of their children, we shall not be wanting to incourage it as farre as we hear there shall be reason for it, by the Lords provision of such help amongst you as shall be continued yet unto you or further added by him in whose hands is the residue of the spirit, to be poured out on you and on your seed, according to his covenant. So commending you to the Lord and to the word of his grace we remaine

Your servants in the Lord

London, Feb. 5.

1671-2.

and for the gospel,

Ph. Nye

John Owen

John Knowles

Matt. Barker[¶]

Joseph Caryl

Arth. Palmer

William Hook

John Rowe

George Griffith

Tho. Brooks

Geo. Cockayn

Jo. Loder

John Collins.

[432] Copy of a Letter to Col. Goffe, one of King Charles the first's Judges, from his Wife.¹¹¹

27th April 1672.

My deare Child,

HOW greatly doe I long to see thee, but seeing that cannot be, thy choych lettars doe much refresh my drouping

¹¹¹ Col. Goffe always wrote in the name of Walter Goldsmith. His wife, Frances

drouping heart, to heare of thy health and happynes, with thy deare friend,¹¹² is the chiefe comfort I have in this world, next to sole marciſe. * I receved yours of the 6 of november, I cared the incloſed and did as you deſired, which I perſeved was liked better then a lettar would have been from you ; he hoped to ſend ſomething but not yet, he told me you wanted nothing ſo far as he could undarſtand, I wich you find it ſo, but the Lord is very graſhous to you and us in taking care, and tis a choyc marcy not to want that the Lord will not have us to inioy, tis the worke of the Lord to bring our minds to our condifhon, but I find hope deſired makes the heart ſick, but the Lord is pleaſed to be the veſhion in the applycation of ſom word or other, as that I will never leve thee nor forſake thee, I will be your God and the God of your ſeal, and throe marcy I have found it in ſome meſhure maid good, for Frank is, I bles the Lord, receved into the chorch and gave great ſattisfaxon to all that ware preſent, there was 3 eldars, 2 deakons and ſom other of the membars that ſpake with her at forſt and the whole church was ſattisfid in her, and I hope the Lord who hath begon the worke will finneſh it to his glory and our comfort that ſhe may help kepe up the name of the Lord in the world when we are laid in the doſt. I found the incloſed, it being of her one writing, I have ſent it to thee that we may rejoyce and bles [433] the Lord together for ſo great a marcy ; a porſhon in him ſelf is the beſt porſhon for this cannot be loſt, the Lord help us all to love him more and then the parting with earthly comforts will not be ſo grevous to us as it tis, deare Mrs. Jane hath ſent ſome goods ſhe being perſwaded that it would be beſt this year, if the Lord pleaſe to ſend them ſafe and that thay be well managed for you and your freinds benefit. I truſt the Lord will make it of ſome comfort to you, for my aunt toke great paines to ſend it before

Frances Goldſmith. He calls her mother, and calls his children brothers and ſiſters. She writes from London and he from Hadley in New-England. H.

¹¹² Whaley, her father. H.

before the war begon and we hope it is gon safe, we desire to follow it with prayers. If you be good lads and will send word what you want there will be care taken to supply you, but till then I forbare to send because it is your desire. I bles the Lord I want nothing but thy deare company and thy friends. Give all the glory to God he is the giver of all our marceyes. It will not be long but I must be gon to those manshones that Christ hath prepared for me and all that love the Lord; there will be no sorrow but fulnes of joy and pleasures for ever more; but if it may stand with the pleasure of my father I should be glad to see thee and peace upon Isarell once more, but I feare I am not worthy of such a mercy, but the Lord Jesus Christ is, for whose sake he will appear in the best time. I have sent you the inclosed by which you may see that the pepell of God enjoy much liberty at the present but what the eshue of it may be the Lord knows. The war with the Duch is like to be very terabel; the Lord ordar all things for his one glory; Christ is the head of the church and that may comfort us in the midst of all these commoshons. I bles the Lord I and your sisters and other friends are in health, only Betty is weakly, my ant takes great care of my brother as if he were her one and is very kind to all the famely and to all that feare the Lord, for she makes it her buisnes to help the afflicted; many have cause to bles the Lord for her; doubtless she will have a hye place in heaven; her good husband is much afflicted with the stone which makes him stratened in time that I fear he cannot write but prays dayly for you. Mrs Jane is much pleased when you write [434] to her and troubled when you doe not; pray thank her for her love to me and mine, we are very happy in the society one of another; be carefull what you write for all the lettars we receive comes from the post house. Pray Child be carefull of yourself and friend and if you want a periweg to keep you warm let me know it and I will

will send you one ; pray want for nothing that may be good for you, for my happynes is bound up in your well being. The going of the ships are very unfartain and therefore I know not whether I may write any more this yeare or not, but I shall not fese to pray for you and all the pepell of the Lord with you, especially for those that show kindnes to you to whom I desire to be remembred and returne hearty thanks for all theargreat love ; I hope the Lord will requite them a thousand fould. If anny thing be don by us to your prejedish pray let me know it from yourselfe. Many friends desire to be remembred to you and prays dayly for you, all your sistars presents thear humbell duty and greatly longs to see you, my most indeared love to thyself and humbel duty to whom it belongs, I bles the Lord that theare is anny hopes of his recovery, the Lord profit the marcy and sanctifie all his dealings to us and let every marcy and every afflixon that we mete with bring us nearer to himselfe and then we shall have no cause to complayn, my child this is like to be a very troblesom sommar and therefore pray hard that the Lord wold appeare for his poore pepell and that the gosPELL may be upheld. Many nay allmost all that feare the Lord have apprehensions that God is bringing som great stroke upon this nashon, the Lord devart his judgments if it be his will or however hide his pepell while these calametyes be over past, we have yet a breathing time, the Lord give hearts to improve it. The churches of Chrif many of them ware in greate liklyhoods to mete in the halls, having a grant from the companyes, but at present theare is a demur on it, you may ges from home, but the Lord raineth let the earth rejoyce, doutles this is a great blow to the bushops, but I shall be to troubelselfom thoe I know not how to leve when [435] implied in this worke, but I must take my leve beging of the Lord to kepe you in safety if it be the will of the Lord and that both you and I and all that feare the Lord may be
presented

presented blameles at the coming of the Lord Iesus Christ, I
take my leue and remain

Your most indeared mother,

Fra. Goldsmith.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. John Collins¹¹³ to Governor
Leverett.

Sir,

I Would not let this ship goe without a few lines to you, however I have little to say, saving the recommendation of the gentleman the bearer hereof, being Dr. Hoar, who is in fellowship with us, and yet more yours than ours, through his ardent desire to serue God in what worke hee will allot to him in your parts, where hee hath had his education, which in the judgment of wiser men than myselfe is thought to bee in your colledge employment, to which hee is very well qualified in many things. I know whatever countenance or encouragement yourselfe can give him or the magistracy he shall not want it, for I beleeeve hee will deserve it and continue soe to doe, to him alsoe I doe refer an account of the state of things amongst us, which he will be better able to doe than I can by letters have at present opportunity for, hee knowing all I can write and the conveyance being very hazardous, the ship going out when the 2 fleets, ours and the French on the one part and the Dutch, are both out and plying towards one another for an engagement, only this I would add, that the lord I spake of is upon going and in likelyhood will, before
hee

¹¹³ This Mr. Collins was educated at Harvard College and was a Minister in New-England, afterwards in London. The Colony having no Agent in England he seems, for several years, to have been the person principally employed to receive and give the necessary intelligence relative to public affairs. H.

hee returne, visitt you, which is to bee emproved to the best of your advantage ; hee is a very civil [436] noble person, and if noe offence be ministred to him there, will doe you much service and, I perswade myselfe, noe hurt if it were to gain the whole country ; but keep all I have wrote about him to yourselfe, or as secret as may bee. Your friends and relations are all well, as I and my family through grace are. I desire you to accept the tender of my humble service to you and your lady, with my wives, and commend you to the Lord, begging his presence and grace with you in your great worke ; and that when you are nearest God you would fervently remember mee and mine which is great and weighty. I rest,

Sir, Your very affectionate friend

London, May 10. 1672.

and humble servant,

J. C.

Copy of the Elders Advice to the General Court.

WHEREAS it hath pleased this honnourable generall court assembled and setting in Boston the 15th of May 1672, to call us severall of the elders of the churches in this colonie, to consider, consult and advise concerning the present difficult emergencies before them, in order to the free, full and amicable concurrence of both houses in managing such cases of judicature as are represented unto this court, by petition or otherwise, according to law ; wee thought incumbent on us as an indispenfable duty, pressed under the sense of the great consequence of the question, it being to us a matter of the greatest importance, on the one hand, to say nothing that might in the least impair the honour, power and authority due to the honored magistrates, or, on the other

other, infringe, weaken or make voide the liberties, privileges or power by our constitution appertaining to the freemen, both which are more deare to us than our lives; seeing that in the temperament of both standeth the firmnesse of our civil being and the happinesse of this whole people, in the preservation of the common interest; wee thought good humbly to suggest as the result of our serious thoughts on the whole conference, that it pleased this honoured generall court to [437] admit us unto the hearing of amongst themselves for our formation in the state of the case, these proposalls following.

1. That our civil constitution respecting both the form and administration of civil government, it is or ought to be founded in and upon our charter by which wee are incorporated into a body politique, and furnished both with legislative and executive power, and giveth life and strength both to the being and operations of our civil politie, and maketh us a people.

2. That therefore this our charter is to be kept and observed inviolably in all the fundamentalls of civil policy, therein directing to the right constitution of courts and regular distribution of differing interest of power and privilege between the magistrates and the freemen, and the distinct exercise of legislative and executive power by those who are by pattent vested therewith.

3. That in any particular which doth admit a latitude of interpretation and fall under a different understanding amongst us, such a just accommodation as may consist with our patent and best provide for the publicke satisfaction and safety is most adviseable.

4. That although wee concurre fully with those our worthy predecessors in the ministry who when called to give their advice in the like, if not the same case, have placed the negative vote in the major part of both houses, as, in their understanding,

standing, most agreeable to the charter and conducive to the publick weale of this colony, as by their manuscripts yet extant more fully doth appeare :

Yet, for a present accommodation (wee humbly conceive) that our honoured magistrates bill referring to the issuing of all debates in matters of judicature (in case of the non-concurrence of both houses voting apart) unto the vote of the whole court mett together, or the major part of them, whereof the governor, deputie governor and four magistrates, or otherwise five of the magistrates at least shall alwayes bee a part, to the making any valid act; wee say wee humbly conceive that a mutuall concession hereunto and a joynt concurrence herein may bee a fitt medium [438] of such an accommodation, as that which falls within a true latitude of interpretation, and for this wee humbly submit our reasons to your consideration.

1. Because the patent doth expressly make and denominate two distinct estates constituting this corporation, as 1st, That of the governor, deputy governor and assistants. 2dly, That of the freemen. Therefore, either to confound these two estates of magistrates and freemen, so as that there should be noe distinction in the exercise of executive power, or to divest the magistrates of the exercise of all executive power, or to invest the freemen with a power equall unto, and in case above, the magistrates in the final determination of matters of judicature; or to swallow up the whole estate of the magistracy, with all their interest of place, power and patent right together, by a major vote of the freemen in court, doth seem to us to shake and overthrow the boundaries of two distinct estates laid in the charter.

2. Because the patent doth, according to our understanding of it, constitute a quorum of the magistrates in all generall courts, with whom there is a negative vote in matters properly appertaining to that court, else what meanes that clause divers times industriously inserted, of which the governor, deputy governor

governor and six of the magistrates shall be seven, which, if so, then totally to null that quorum and negative vote together, seems to us to bee a fundamentall error in government, according to patent.

3. Because, to leave the finall determination of judicature in any case altogether to the freemen, doth tend to evacuate our great liberty and priviledge of election, as to one main end of it, unto which our honoured magistrates are solemnly sworne, viz. the administration of civil justice according to the lawes of the land, which they cannot possibly doe if altogether superseded by the major vote of the freemen in generall court; all which, wee humbly conceive would be prevented if the aforesaid accommodation may bee attained.

[439] 5. That for the prevention of trouble and expence of time to the honoured generall court, by hearing and determining cases civill or criminall, it seemes expedient, by law, to provide that there may bee a more open way to an issue of such cases in inferior courts of judicature, by the agreement of bench and jury, and that the magistrates may be, by expresse law, directed to accept the juries verdict and to grant judgment accordingly, unlesse they shall judge the juries verdict to be evidently contrary to law and evidence, in which case, that they may bee impowered by law to cause the jurie to answer for their default, in the same court, before a jurie of twenty four persons chosen by the freemen, or otherwise to bee liable to bee served by the party aggrieved with a writ of attainer out of the same court, or otherwise as this honoured court may see more aptly and amply to provide.

It being the great liberty of an English subject to be tried by his peers, before whom he hath free and full libertie to plead law for his indemnitie and safety.

6. That when the worthy deputies in generall court engage as judges in matters of judicature it may bee thought meet

and juſt that they are ſworne according to law, ſo farre at leaſt as the magiſtrates are ſworne, which ſeems neceſſary in reaſon.

1ſt. That acting joyntly and together with the magiſtrates they may act under the ſame obligation of law and conſcience. It ſeemes very incongruous, that of joynt judges ſome ſhould bee ſworne to judge according to law, and others left with a latitude to judge according to judgment and conſcience only, and ſo that the magiſtrates ſhould be only judges and the deputies judges and chancellors in the ſame court.

2d. That our perſons, names, eſtates, lives, and all, may bee under the protection of law, which is the great ſecuritie of the ſubject, and that it may not reſt in the judgment and conſcience of any of our judges to vacate our lawes and in an extrajudiciall way to paſſe judgment in any caſe under a legall cognizance.

[440] 7. The premiſes notwithstanding, wee humbly propoſe, whether that ſuch caſes as are already lying before or depending in this honourable court, either by petition or otherwiſe, may not, for the furtherance of the accommodation aboveſaid, be admitted unto a hearing in the wonted way of procedure in this court as heretofore.

Theſe propoſalls wee doe in all humillity and faithfullneſſe preſent and ſubmit unto the ſerious conſiderations of this honourable court, and being under the awfull ſenſe of the great neceſſity of the amicable agreement of both houſes in ſuch a time as this, wee doe moſt humbly and unfaynedly beſeech him who is the wonderfull counſellor and prince of peace, of whoſe government and peace there ſhall bee no end, that hee would guide you by his counſell and fill you with the ſpirit of wiſdome and counſell and of the feare of the Lord, to make you of quicke underſtanding in the feare of the Lord, that you may bee able to diſcerne and conclude upon ſuch a way of agreement in this matter as may bee for
the

the glory of his name, peace and welfare of his people here and your account with joy in the great day of the Lord.

Samuel Whiting, sen.

John Oxenbridge, consenting as to the substance and scope which is the accommodation.

Thomas Cobbet,

John Shearman.

John Higginson,

Thomas Thacher, sen.

William Hubbard,

John Wilson,

James Allen, I fully agree to the accommodation propounded in this paper.

Samuell Phillips,

Samuell Torrey,

Antipas Newman,

John Hale, I concur fully with the substance of this accommodation.

Josiah Flint.

[441] Copy of a Letter from Mr. Peter Tillton to his Wife at Hadley.

Boston 18 3mo. 1672.

Deare Wife,

THIS opportunity gives occasion of these lines, wee have had a quiett and peaceable election, no alteration or addition; O what a price doth divine patience yett bestruft us with, when he is drawing out the sword and arraying himself with the garments of vengeance as to other kingdomes, and when it is more than probable many garments are tumbling

bling in blood. As to the news from England all men, both wife and others of more ordinary cappaſſities, looke on the effect or produce thereof will be as black a daye in the world, as the world hath knowne. The late actions in England in commiſſionating their fleet to ſeiſe and fall on the Hollander, of which I wrote you in my laſt, breaking their league, joyning with the French, aſſiſting them with ſouldiers out of England, and with their principall harbours to receive a numerous army and ſhutting up the exchequer, whereby many are outed of their eſtates contrary to all lawe, are thinges that both in England and here, by men of all forts, are looked upon as ſtrange, horrid, and omminous. There is another ſhip expected, one Jonas Clarke, (if not ſtopped by the embargo or otherwiſe) in which one Dr. Hoare, a miniſter, is expected. Remember me to mine and thine, with my love to all with you. I cannot forgett you before the father of ſpirits, night and daye. The goodwill of him that dwelt in the buſh be with you, cauſe his face to ſhine upon you all, and give you peace. So prayeth ſtill

Yours unfaindly to love,

Peter Tillton.

This day the generall court hath appointed the fourth daye of the weeke enfueing (for themſelves) a day of [442] ſolemne faſting and humiliation, to fall downe upon their knees before Almighty God, for and in the behalfe of his cauſe, name, people and intereſt, that in this day are ſo deeply deſigned againſt by the ſerpent and his ſeede, and that by this black cloud of tumult and commotion now amongſt the nations the Lord would bring forth the accompliſhment of thoſe promiſes of his, that his people are ſo earneſtly lookeing after and waiteing for; alſoe they have ordered fix miniſters as helps to carrye on the daye, viz.
Mr.

Mr. Oxenbridge, Mr. Mather, Mr. Oakes, Mr. Eliott, Mr. Whiteing, Mr. Cobbett: Further, they have ordered the 13th daye of the next month to be observed and kept as a solemne day of fast and humiliation by all the people of this jurisdiction, on the account aforesaid.

This last fifth day was the younge man that killed Mr. Daveys maid tried for his life and condemned to dye.

I have binn ill this 2 or 3 dayes of an aguish feverish distemper, with afflicting paines in my head and teeth. My deare ones, forgett not him who hath you all on his heart, and whose desire it is to leave himselfe and his all with that mercifull high priest who hath the keys of life and death. Farewell, farewell.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Collins to Governor Leverett
of the Massachusetts.

Sir,

YOUR short letter with the treasurer's and your bills I received, which were very welcome, having received by them the newes of your hopeful recovery from soe great an illness, wherein God hath spared you to that country as a publique mercy I hope as well as your friends and family, which the Lord in mercy continue, and carry you on in your worke to the perfecting of that [443] which God in his counsell hath further to continue your use and services to accomplish. According to your orders the 100*l.* is paid in to Mr. Floyd upon Mr. Rawson's account, and 64*l.* 10*s.* received into my owne hands by vertue of the bill sent by Mr. Saltonstall, and the new one of 44*l.* 10*s.* charged on Capt. Peirce,

Peirce, which is in my hands, saving what hath binn disbursed, according to your order, to Mr. Rushworth, whom I have, as you directed, employed since 24th June last, to have an eye upon your affayres, though I neglect it not myselfe. I agreed to give him 3 guynies a quarter and have accordingly payd him 9 at the rates they goe, which is 20s. a piece, and have agreed to be at all contingent charges of fees or transcribing papers; which besides a crowne or thereabout which I have layd out is all yet out of purse; unless you shall think fitt to allow any thing towards the charges of the publique papers I have formerly and now sent, which I have hitherto payd out of my owne wholly. Your letter directed to Dr. Owen, Mr. Woodbridge and myselfe, wee did not communicate to him, his abode being at Newberry and seldome in towne, and, betwixt you and I, wee judge one that is not very likely to be serviceable to you. You need not give any account of it to Mr. Symons. Through Gods goodnes there is not the least cause to write to you about any thing at present that concernes you, saving that New-York being restored by the peace one Mr. Andrews is appointed governor, a man I know not; and some rumour is maliciously spread at court that you have made peace with the Dutch there, which is obviated by the readines of some persons to shew the falshood of it. I hope nothing will for this year further disturbe you, and if any thing doe arise it will be from New-Yorke and the government there, I have therefore greatly encouraged some gentlemen your friends, who would purchase it of his royall highnes, as thinking it will be much for your peace, who are about it, but how it will issue I know not. Mr. Rushworth hath not had any thing to doe for you as yet, but only to attend what the council table or council of trade should [444] passe, before the last of which Plymouth patent hath layn long, but nothing done in it. I hope you shall want no
information,

information, only I hear the King is offended that some of your ships take in their lading from Virginia and goe to France and defraud his customes, as alsoe from other plantations; to which I know not what to say. The truth is, proroguing the parliament is some yea much discontent to them, when they had soe many good things before them, and the present transactions in Europe, with the kings vast debts, and their not having yet come to any resolueas to the future way of paying of them, takes up all their thoughts that they have little time to mind such minute things as yours, untill some old things be againe revived or new provocations given, in which I doubt not God will enable you to walke wisely. All the publique news and papers most choyce, as to manuscript or print, that have come out in the time of war or parliament, I have enclosed in a box which my brother Hammond will take up, it is shipped in Mr. Clements, whom I have ordered to deliver them to you and pray you, after you have perused them, to let my father have them for the use of friends; and were there any thing considerable that is not there I should add it, saving the presaging of mens minds of some dangers of papists and popery, and other things not fit for papers. The 2 nations are discomposed as to the proroguing of the parliament, especially Scotland, where hath binn sad jangling betwixt the Duke of Lauderdale and the nobility, which may issue in disquietments. I am, I bleſs God, well, with my wife, who presents you and your lady with her service, and soe are all your relations. God hath binn afflicting our family here, having taken away lately my only daughter, and alsoe, as I hear, my relations there have had sore breaches, the Lord sanctifie to them and me his holy hand. Since my last it hath pleased God to remove by death Mr. Lodor, Mr. Venning, and some other ministers of the presbyterian perswasion, holy men and much lamented; as alsoe lately Sir Thomas Temple, whom melancholy and
griefe

griefe hath killed by his hard usage [445] from Mr. Elliott, but especially the occasion given of scandall by his lodging at his old Mrs. her house, Mrs. Martin, which having heard the echo of again from New England, from the letters that some too uncharitably wrote, did sit deep upon his spirit and hastened his end: He sent for mee and I was with him severall houres, before hee dyed a week, and hee layd open his soul; it was a meer accident, yea great necessity, I judge, afterward that cast him at that wretches house; hee did declare in the presence of God, that noe temptation, noe not in a lust after her, had ever come upon his spirit, but contrarywise a great abhorrence of it, was deeply afflicted that any had soe much aggravated the report, and that the name of God should suffer. I saw neither disease nor paine that would hasten his end, but his spirit broken, his inward estate darke, wherein God did enable mee to doe him some small service. I hope he had the root of the matter in him and is gone home to rest. Your concussions you have at the colledge doe greatly grieve mee, and soe much the more that noe friend hath binn pleased to give me a true state of it, but all I gather, from them that I see, are wholly of one syde; it causeth a great rumour here, and is greatly aggravated to the presidents reproach, in whom I am concerned, for hee was a member with us, but it seems hath joined himselfe with the 3d church at Boston, which surprizeth me, although I doe judge his relation thereby to us is erased, all that I would say is, that it hath by our New England friends here binn layd as a reproach upon all the elders, yet I think without cause; for if our letter bee viewed you will not find that wee did recommend him to bee your president, wee judged that too much for us to undertake, nor did wee excite him to come or urge him upon such hopes; it was his own eagre desire after it and his thinking that hee might bee serviceable there; all wee sayd was, that since hee was prepared to come wee thought him

him one that might bee helpfull in your colledge worke and left it with you to judge how; if there be any other expressions, or to the like purpose of what I mention, they [446] are none of ours; I hope the letter is kept, and if you would doe mee the favour to lend mee the original, or a true copy, I should returne it to you again safely, though I had rather have the original. I hope that noe recommendation of ours will cause you to continue him, if you find him unfitt; better hee suffer than the glory of the colledge bee mined, as is the expression of severall letters from the very best hands there. Just as I was writing this, came to hand yours of the 12th of February 1673, wherein I have some account of the things I am now writing about, for which I thanke you, and find your candid opinion of the Dr's actings, like to Mr. Stoughton's who gave mee much the same sentiments about the matter of fact, but did not instance in what was charged against him. I hope God will pleas to heal that breach or to direct you to what may bee most for the good of the colledge; and to add noe more of that, the kind and obliging expressions which you are pleased to use towards mee I returne you my humble thanks for, and pray I may be continued in your love and prayers as I desire to mind you in mine, though weak and sinfull. Sir, I shall only further acquaint you that Capt. Peirce required a discharge for the whole summe, and considering the 100^l. came not into my hands, and yet I have charged my selfe with it by a general acquittance to him, I think for my discharge it is but necessary that I have, for soe much paid by your order, a discharge from your treasurer, which I beg you to remember. This is all at present but the tender of my most humble service to you, from him who is,

Sir your most affectionate humble servant,

London April 10. 1674.

J. C.

[447] Copy of a Letter¹¹⁴ from Mr. John Knowles¹¹⁵ to Governour Leverett.

London 16 April 1674.

Ever honored Sir,

IT is noe little trouble to some here to understand that you are under some indisposition of body, that you write to few friends here, the Lord strengthen your heart and hands in that great worke which the Lord hath layd before you. It is very grievous to your friends here, not only to us ministers, but your commissioners for the colledge, to heare of the great breach that is made in it, wee wonder at the overseers¹¹⁶ of it, that they doe not either strenthen the hands of Mr. Hore that so the worke may go on, or else some other able man may be put into the place. For the wound will widen by delays, and if the colledge dye, the churches (some judge here¹¹⁷) will not live long after it. Mr. Penoyer's meanes given to it, about forty pounds per ann. I feare will goe another way when it falls, if there be noe colledge; and divers other intended gifts. Wee have some money offered to be payd for the colledge, &c. divers youths desire to come over to study there, but I doe give noe encouragement to them soe long as things are in such a broken condition in the colledge. Thus with my deare love to yourselfe and good mistreis Leverett, and Mr. Oxenbridge, I commend you all to God's blessing in Christ Jesus.

Sir your faithfull friend and fervant,

John Knowles.

Sir,

¹¹⁴ The original is in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. A.

¹¹⁵ Mr Knowles had been a minister in New-England, but returned and settled in England. H.

¹¹⁶ *Occasion* in former edition. A.

¹¹⁷ Omitted by Hutchinson. A.

Sir, You shall doe well to fend us word by your first shipp, when wee have gotten your money, what to fend it over in, wee think glasse and nails.

Let me assure you that here is at present a great designe of foote for the regulation of New-England, but you have no man here to prevent your trouble or speake a word for you ; your country ought to be at some charge [448] here, to answere for it, or else I clearly see you never shall be long quiet. I pray you conceal my acquainting of yourselfe with it, the thinge is true.

Sir, I should have beene ashamed to scribe thus to such a one as yourselfe, but I dare not be wanting to my duty, though my weaknes at present (as to writing) disfinables mee, yet through mercy otherwise well. Oh ! that I could say foe of your good friends Dr. Owen, Mr. Hooke, who are in a languishing condition. I hope shortly wee shall receive neare an hundred pounds for the Colledge, though I was the first (I thinke) that first moved Mr. Doddridge to give, yet I will not take it ; it may be I shall accept of tenn pounds, for I can say the getting of it now, after nine years with-holding of it, has cost mee many journeys to London and some money.

Copy of a Letter from Major Thompson to Governor Leverett.

Sir,

I Understand by my cofin Peter Sergeant, who hath a good quantity of powder of myne in his hands, that the authority of your collony refused to let him sell it, when he had good opportunitys, for my advantage, by which meanes its like to prove a greate lose to me. If it be foe, I desire
you

you will seriously consider whether the collony is not to make me reparation, by taking the powder at the rates he might have sould it. And first I must tell you, in fact, its what his Majesty doth here, for since the war our salpeter did rise considerably to transporte, his Majesty prohibited the exportation and paid us the same price to a farthing, reddey money, that we could have sould it for, and hath the peter still in his stores. And though particular persons must submit to the publique, yet where there is a damage the publique is better able, and in con-[449]science ought to beare it, it being but little to each particular person when the whole beares it, but heavy where one beares it; and if there be a benefit, as undoubtedly it was judged, the whole did partake of it, which they ought to doe at their owne charge and not at mine. Besides indeed, I thinke it good pollecy to incouredg your having store in your country of that commodity, in case of need, which the restraining the free dispose of it will hinder; though as a lover of your country I must say it were your interest to make it there. Sir, I appeale to you for justice and desire you will see me righted.

There has been much discourse and complaint about Mr. Gorges's pattent; it were good if such things were taken up, least in the future they prove prejudiciall. If the country would buye out their claime it may be done, or if you could propound how their title might answer the disburse of the money, I should joine with others or doe it my self, but being wholly ignorant of the thing have refused any discourse with the proprietors, though have binn often invited to it. Pray let me have your thoughts about it, which will much governe mee.

Your affectionate humble servant,

Rob. Thomson.

Copy of a Letter from Major Thomson to Governor
Leverett.

London, this 4th June 1674.

Sir,

I Formerly wrote unto you about my suffering in my powder, in which I hope you will see mee righted; since which, being at the corporation for the propagating the gospel amongst the Indians, I found the commissioners letter did not incoredge the sending any stocke into the country, but upon consideration amongst themselves have at last resolved to send some, remitting it into the hands of [450] Mr. John Richards and Mr. Peter Sergeant, to be improved for that worke. If you please to advise with them and others, and find a way of certain improvement by buying lands, mortgages or other security, I am confident the corporation may be inclined to goe in debt here to remitt a good some over. And indeed if you had my apprehensions of things you would endeavor it.

And now to returne to what I began with. I am persuaded your country will afford good peter and it would be your advantage to make powder yourselves, and in the mean time to have a store by you, that you may not be in straights, upon any sudden breach. I wish I may not be a prophet (as I have binn twice to some amongst you) in this, that I feare another warre. Upon which account, had I had the freedom of the dispose of the commodity, or that the country would have bought it now its cheape, I should have sent a large supply this yeare, but now forbear untel I heare from you, and may then doe it, if the doare be open. So rests

Your affectionate servant,

Rob. Thomson.

Copy

Copy of a Letter from Robert Boyle, Esq; about New-
England, July 1674.

Sir,

WHEN you see any of the principall magistrates of N. E. you will oblige me to take an occasion to let them know, that whereàs, some months agoe, I received from severall of them a letter apolegetically, concerning answers to misrepresentations that they feared had bin made of their affections and actions, I had a just sense of the honor they were pleased to do me, and used my endeavours, perhaps not altogether unsuccessfully, to have the particulars they alledge for themselves taken notice of by those two or three persons of our court in whose good opinion [451] it most concerns them to stand right. Though I think that it would be much more their advantage to send or appoint some competent person here, to sollicite and manage their concerns on all emergent occasions.

The forementioned account of my endeavours to serve them I desire should rather be given by you than immediately by me; because, being here in a private capacity, as their friends and mine thought it unadvisable I should shew their letter to his Majesty himself, so I thought it did not become me, in such times, to presume, without expresse leave, to write directly to the colonyes.

R. B.

Copy

Copy of a Letter from Mr. John Collins to Governor
Leverett.

Sir,

I Hope myne with the papers I sent you are long before this time come to your hand, wherein you will see what I have to write concerning yourselves, and alsoe the general state of things amongst us, glad I am I have nothing more to add in relation to yourselves, save only that, since I wrote last, there hath been a proposition of alienating by the proprietors the province of Mayn and what you call New-Hampshyre to the King, to make an interest of it to the Duke of Monmouth, and it is proposed that he should send a governor to rayse to himselfe a revenew from it. I hope it will come to nothing. He that was all agog to goe governor thither, I had him dealt withall by a friend and such discouragements layd before him, and the ridiculousnes of hoping for such a revenue as was proposed of 5000*l.* a year, or more, to the Duke, that I think it is layd aside. To be sure I shall, by the last ships, to which I refer my larger letters to you, give you a further account of that or any thing else that shall concerne you, but I judge you have little reason to expect any [452] great disturbance here, I suppose their owne affayres are too weighty to mind yours much, at present, and my busines is soe much as that if I write twice a year, more largely, to you, you must excuse me (the emergent providences that may signifye any thing to you I always except, to which I shall not be wanting) to the returne therefore of the last ships I shall refer a larger letter: I hope you will see the 100*l.* payd according to your order, and will understand the agreement I have made with Mr. Rushworth for 3 guineys a quarter, with all contingent charges, which I shall continue, though as yet there hath bin noe service done for it, but I shall follow your order, till either you remand it
or

or I see better reason to the contrary. I shall only add, that there may be somewhat more considerable, as to the publique, by the last returne of the ships, which I shall either by writing or prints send you; some stirs are in Scotland about the late impositions, which what they will produce time will shew; somewhat I shall send you by the next; their parliament is desolved and the nation in a scurvy temper; whether ours will meet again next season appointed I know not, much depends upon it; I am now at the waters for my health, from whence I now write. I received two short ones from you since I last sent; to which there needs noe answer, you have found it in my former, only I congratulate for the peoples sake rather than your owne their renewed choyce of their governor, and am sorry they should in authority not yet have their eyes opened to see the vanity and fruitlesnes of any prosecuting quakers, or others, who are otherwise peaceable. I pray God still continue you usefull, as to making up breaches there in church and state. As to what you intimate about the removing of the Dr. in reference to the colledge, I think, neither mysele or others are any further concerned than to be sorry such a breach hath binn under his hand, and to beg of God to direct you in a right choyce.

I am,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

July 28. 1674.

J. C.

[453] Copy of a Letter from William Goffe, one of King Charles the first's Judges, to his Wife.

Most dear and honored Mother,

ON the 23d July I received yours of the 29th March 1674, with the inclosed that should have come last year,

year, hoping you have also by this time received mine of the 21st May last, which informs you how it was then with myfelfe and your old friend Mr. R.¹¹⁸ and that I wrote largely to yourfelfe and dear Mrs. Jaines, in October last, which I perceive you have not received, which I am very forry for; but it hath been a great mercy that all my former letters came safely to your hands, and as for those, knowing the hazard of their miscarriage by reason of the warres, I kept the coppies of them, and for your further satisfaction I have again transcribed, that you may see I was not unmindfull of my duty in writing to you and answering your desire of my advice concerning my sister Fr.¹¹⁹ of whose disposall in marriage you have now given me the account, so far as you conceive you could, and I believe are longing to understand my thoughts of it. Dear mother, you are pleased to say well, that you gave me an account how it hath pleased the Lord to dispose of her, &c. It is indeed the Lord, who is her heavenly father, that hath disposed of her and provided this husband for her, and therefore, tho he be unknowne to me, I do believe he is the fittest person in the world for her, and that she likewise is the most meet help for him. I remember in a former letter to yourfelfe, when you desired my thoughts in a matter concerning her, I told you I was confident the Lord would take care of her and in due time provide a husband for her, and now he hath done it, shall I question whether he hath done it well? No, I dare not do it. It is a great satisfaction to me that you sought the Lord, and tooke advise of our dear and christian friends, and that my syster was guided in her choyse by yourfelfe [454] and them, and desire with you to blesse the Lord that hath provided so well for her, and shall not cease to pray night and day on their behalfe, that the Lord will be pleased to make them great blessings

¹¹⁸ Whaley. H.

¹¹⁹ His daughter Frances. H.

bleſſings to each other, and that this new condition may be, every way and allways, comfortable to them both, for as you very truly ſay, it will be as the Lord ſhall be pleaſed to make it. I pray remember my moſt tender and affectionate love to them both, and tell them that I greatly long to ſee them ; but ſince that cannot be at preſent, you may aſſure them that whilſt they ſhall make it their great worke to love the Lord Jeſus in ſincerity, and love one another dearly for Chriſt's ſake, and to carry it with tender love and dutyfull reſpect to yourſelfe, I ſhall eſteem it my duty to love and pray, and act faith for them as if they were my own children, being not otherwiſe able at this diſtance to be helpfull to them. Dear mother, that yourſelfe and all friends did ſo well approve the match gives much content to my heart, and I beſeech you not to give way to any recoylings that may ariſe in your own ſpirit ; do not ſay, as to the world, my ſiſter might have done much better, the Lord knowes what is beſt for us, and ours ; it may be that which wee may think would have been better might have proved much worſe. Theſe are dying times, wherein the Lord hath been and is breaking down what he hath built, and plucking up what he hath planted, and therefore it is not a time to be ſeeking great things for ourſelves. Let us read the 45th chap. of Jeremiah, and apply to ourſelves what the Lord there ſpeakes to Baruch, and account it a great mercy if he give us our lives for a prey, and bring us again to ſee the faces one of another with comfort. The things, that Baruch is dehorted from ſeeking, were worldly things, why then are they called great things ? Surely the Lord ſpeakes it onely according to the eſteem that we are too apt to have of them, for the worlds great things are indeed and in truth but poor little things, and the ſaints ſhould looke down upon them with contempt, and ſhew themſelves to be of high raiſed ſpirits, ſeeking [455] things truly great, as our Lord himſelfe doth exhort us, Mat. 6. 33. But ſeek ye firſt the kingdom of God and his righte-
ouſneſſe,

ousnesse, as if he had saide, for they are great things, worthy your affectionate endeavours, and as for all these little things which gentiles so earnestly pursue, they shall be added unto you so far as your heavenly father knoweth that you have need of them. My poor sister begins her housekeeping at a time when trading is low, and all provisions dear, and I cannot but pitty her in that respect. I hope she will not be discouraged nor her husband neither, but for prevention I desire them to consider seriously and to act faith upon that most excellent councell our Lord delivered with authority in his sermon on the mount, Mat. 6th from the 24th ver. to the end of the chapter. I cannot but be full of longings to heare how the Lord hath dealt with her in her lying in, but I doubt not you will take the first opportunity to inform us of it, in the mean time I shall endeavour to stay myselfe upon the promise made to childe-bearing women, 1 Tim. 2. 15.

Dear mother, I have been hetherto congratulating my newly married sister, but I must now turn aside to drop a few tears upon the hearse of her that is deceased, whose losse I cannot choose but lament with tears, and so share with you in all the providences of God towards us; but my dear mother, let me not hereby be the occasion of renewing your griefe, for I doubt not but you have grieved enough, if not too much, already. Let us consider how graciously the Lord deales with us (as for my dear sister, shee is got beyond our pitty, we need not lament for her sake, but rather rejoyce that shee is at rest in the bosom of Christ) who whilest he is taking from us with one hand, gives double with the other. He hath added one to your family on whom I hope you may set that motherly affection as if he were your own son, and I hope hath before this time also made you to rejoyce in the fruit of my sisters womb; and shall not we say with Job, the Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken, blessed be the name of the Lord. But oh how apt are wee
to

to murmur, if the Lord [456] do in any thing displease us, but what a shame it were that we should be displeased at any thing which God doth? Who are wee, that wee should set our corrupt wills in opposition to his most holy and blessed will. It is blessed counsell that a reverend minister of the gospell gives, who had been in the schoole of affliction, that I lately met with in a printed booke of his, I pray you (saith he) drink in that notion, viz. That the will of God being pure, holy, perfect, yea God himselfe, should not onely be submitted to, or rested in, but loved and chosen above all creatures, yea above life itselfe, the best of creatures. Would wee but once learne this lesson (which the Lord is, I hope, teaching of us by all his dealings with us) and help us (as you say sweetly in your letter) to see love in all his dispensations, there could nothing come amisse to us.

Dear mother, I perceive, when you wrote last, you were upon a remove from those dear friends with whome you then sojourned, I hope the Lord guided you to that motion, and shall long to hear where you settle; in the mean time, it is my comfort that the Lord tells all your wandrings, and receives all your tears into his bottle, and will not faile to direct all your steps, till he hath given you a safe conduct through your wearysome pilgrimage, and at the end thereof open unto you an abundant entrance into those mansions that are prepared for you in our fathers house, where you shall be at rest in the bosome of Christ for ever.

Your old friend, Mr. R. is yet living, but continues in that weake condition of which I formerly have given you account, and have not now much to add. He is scarce capable of any rationall discourse, his understanding, memory and speech doth so much faile him, and seems not to take much notice of any thing that is either done or said, but patiently bears all things and never complains of any thing, tho' I feare it is some trouble to him that he hath had no letter for a long time from his cozen Rich, but speakes not
one

one word concerning it, nor any thing you wrote of in your last, onely, after I had read your [457] letters to him, being asked whether it was not a great refreshment to him to hear such a gracious spirit breathing in your letters, he said it was none of his least comforts, and indeed he scarce speakes any thing but in answer to questions when they are put to him, which are not of many kinds, because he is not capable to answer them; the common and very frequent question is to know how he doth, and his answer, for the most part, is, very well, I praise God, which he utters with a very low and weake voyce; but sometimes he saith, not very well, or very ill, and then if it be further said, do you feelee any pain any where, to that he allwaies answereth, no; when he wants any thing he cannot well speake for it, because he forgets the name of it, and sometimes asks for one thing when he meanes another, so that his eye or his finger is oftentimes a better intepreter of his mind than his tounge; but his ordinary wants are so well known to us, that most of them are supplied without asking or making signes for them, and some help he stands in need of in every thing to which any motion is required, having not been able, of a long time, to dresse or undresse himselfe, nor to feed, or ease nature either way, orderly, without help, and its a great mercy to him that he hath a friend that takes pleasure in being helpfull to him, and I blesse the Lord that gives me such a good measure of health and strength, and an opportunity and a heart to use it in so good and necessary a worke; for tho' my help be but poor and weake, yet that ancient servant of Christ could not well subsist without it, and I do believe, as you are pleased to say very well, that I do enjoy the more health for his sake. I have sometimes wondered much at this dispensation of the Lord towards him, and have some expectations of more than ordinary issue; the Lord help us to profit by all, and to waite with patience upon him, till we shall see what end he will make with us. Thus farr I write of myselfe, I shall now
ask

ask him what he would have me to say to his friends concerning him. The question being asked, he saith, I am better than I was. And being asked what I should say more to [458] his cozen R. or any other friends, after a long pause, he again saide, the Lord hath visited me in much mercy, and hath answered his visitation upon me. (I give it you in his own words.) Being desirous to draw more from him, I proposed severall questions and the sume of his answers were, that he earnestly desires the continuance of the fervent prayers of all his friends for him, and desires to be remembered to his cozen Rich and longs to receive a letter from her, and desires her to exhort her son and daughters, his dear cozens, to fear God, and to be remembered to her aunt at Chelsey, praying that the Lord will requite all her great love, as also to be remembered to Mrs. Jaines and her good husband, to whom also he thinkes himselfe greatly obliged for their great love, and in particular for Mrs. Jaines her care of poor Nol. desiring her to continue the same; as also to be remembered to yourselfe, and wishesth Frank much comfort in her new condition, and saith he shall not cease to pray for you and all yours. This is written on the 6th of August, but I know not, when I shall have opportunity to send to Boston, it may be therefore before I send away my letter I may have something more to add concerning him.

Thus far I proceeded yesterday, but night coming on and having something else to do, I could proceed no further, and so laid aside my paper, intending this morning to finish (if the Lord pleased) my answer to yours of the 29th March. But now my first worke must be to tell you that, thro' the great goodnesse of God, I did also last night, after supper, receive your welcome letter of the 8th of May (Franks birthday) wherein you let me know that you have also received mine of the 2d of October last, at such a season, which made it the more refreshing to you, which is a great satisfaction and comfort

comfort to me, for which I desire to blesse the Lord ; but it would have been the more full if you had but said, with the inclosed to dear Mrs. Jaines, which I have lately transcribed, together with your owne, from the originalls, with a purpose to have sent them with this, but I shall send neither, for I have good hopes that [459] both were received, for I cannot but think when you complained that the dore of your house was opened, if halfe of your goods had been taken away you would have made mention of it ; for your own letter was both the house and inventorie of all the goods contained in it.

Dear Mother, it is also a great comfort to me to hear that the Lord was graciously pleased to appear on my dear systers behalfe in the needfull hour, and desire with you to blesse the Lord for that great mercy, and I heartily thanke you for giving me so quick a notice of it. Dear mother, it was likewise a great mercy that the Lord was pleased so far to satisfie your desire as to shew you the fruite of her wombe and to make you the joyfull grandmother of a son, and tho' it hath pleased the Lord so soon to transplant him from the militant to the triumphant church, yet it may be a great comfort to yourselfe and my dear syster, that from your wombs hath proceeded the increase to the mysticall body of Jesus Christ, and reckon it a mercy that the Lord being purposed to take him from you in his infancy, was pleased (that it might be the more easy to you) to do it before it had much time to take deep root in your affections, for I do believe the longer yourselves and his other relations had enjoyed him the harder it would have been to us all to have parted with him: But what shall we say more? It may be such considerations as these are too selfish, it is enough to compose the hearts of the children of God under every providence, to say, it is the Lord that hath done it, our loving and tender hearted infinitely wise Father hath declared his royall pleasure, and it is our duty to submit to it, yea to rejoyce in it (for it is
most

most meet he should dispose of us and ours as shall seem good in his sight) and to apply ourselves to learn the lessons he would teach us thereby, and among the rest that is none of the least which you mention, to get our hearts weaned from creature comforts and to live upon himselfe as our allsufficient soul satisfying portion; and let my dear brother and syster remember what the H. G. saith, Lam. 3. 27. It is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth. Dear mother, [460] I pray, in your next, speake a little more fully concerning his godlineesse, for you say nothing to that, except by the phraise of a very honest man, you mean a very godly man, as I hope you do; for you give the same epethite to that good man (whose word you tooke concerning him) of whom another friend saith that he is a very godly man, aged and wise, &c. I pray, remember my dear love to syster Judeth, and tell her from me she must now be a very good childe, and labour to know the God of her father and serve him with a perfect heart and with a willing mind, 1 Chr. 18. 9. and leaving to grieve for her syster and nephew that are at rest with God, strive with all her might to be a comfort to her poor afflicted mother, who is contesting with the difficulties and temptations of an evil world. I humbly thanke you for your motherly love and care for me, in your being so desirous to supply my wants; and because you are pleased to lay your commands upon me, I shall make bould, when I need your help in that kind, to write to you for it. There is yet a little meale in the barrel and oyle in the cruise. The greatest thing I need is a heart to abide patiently in this condition untill it be expended. I cannot but account it a great mercy that in these hard times you should be able to be so helpfull to your poor children; but I beseech you let not your love to them make you to forget yourselfe, in parting with what is necessary for your own comfort in your old age. Dear mother, you say you find nature greatly decaying

caying in you, and therefore desire prayers that grace may be strengthened, &c. It cannot be otherwise expected but that as age comes on nature will decay ; but I beseech you preserve it what you can, and take heed of immoderate griefes, or whatsoever else may be prejudiciall to your health, which you are able to avoyde, and when you have done all you can, if you still perceive the outward man perishing, yet faint not, for I do believe, through the faithfullnesse of God, your inward man shall be renewed day by day, 2 Cor. 4. 16. I blesse the Lord, tho' I cannot deny but I feele, with you. the decays of nature, [461] yet I have and do enjoy a competent measure of health and strength, and beg your pardon if I have been too slow in acquainting you with and giving you the comfort of it. I thanke you for what you have written concerning those relations I desired to heare of ; and the rather because you say you cannot write much, through the weaknesse of your eyes, and I feare it may hurt them to read these long letters, for I desire you first to reade and then seale and deliver the inclosed to my honored and dear friend D. G. with my best respects to him and his dear wife. My dear mother, I recommend to you the counsell and promise given to the Philipians, chap. 4. 4, 5, 6, 7. and let me intreat you to rejoyce in the Lord alway, and again I say rejoyce ; and I beseech you remember that weake eyes are made weaker by too much weeping. Pray take heed you do not hurt yourselfe thereby.

But alas! I see my paper is almost done and I must yet reserve a little room for a postscript, therefore (hoping I have not forgotten any materiall thing I should write of) I am forced here to breake off abruptly, and with my most affectionate remembrances to all friends as if I named them, desiring the continuance of your and their fervent prayers, I recommend you and my dear brother and sisters to the tender watchfull care of him who hath borne us from the belly and

carried us from the wombe, and will be our God and guide unto death.

I am, dear mother,
Your most affectionate and dutifull son,
W. G.

Now, my dear mother, give me leave in a postscript to be a little merry with you, and yet ferious too. There is one word in one of your letters that sounds so harshly, and looks so untowardly, that I cannot tell well how to read or looke upon it, and I know not how to write it, and yet I must, though I crosse it out againe. I suppose you do by this time sufficiently wonder what will follow; but the matter is this, after you had given me a loving account of a businesse wherein you have done your best, you were pleased to say, that if I should be [462] *angry* you had many to beare with you, &c. Rash anger, I confesse; is a burthen that needs more shoulders than one to beare it; for Solomon saith, a stone is heavy and the sand weighty, but a fools wrath is heavier than them both. But oh, my dear mother, how could you feare such a thing from me? Yourselfe knoweth I never yet spake an angry word to you, nay I hope I may say (without taking the name of God in vain) the Lord knoweth I never conceived an angry thought towards you, nor do I now, nor I hope never shall, and in so saying I do not commend myselfe, for you never gave me the least cause, neither have you now, and I believe never will; therefore, dear mother, the whole praise belongs to yourselfe, or rather to the Lord, who, blessed be his name, hath so united our hearts together in love that it is a thing scarce possible to be angry one with another. But I shall now conclude with a request that you will not be angry with yourselfe for writing that word I have spoken so much against, for I suppose all your meaning was, if I should not altogether approve of what was done, &c. and I am abundantly satisfied that the root from which that feare

feare sprung was tender love, and that you speake your heart when you say you love and honour me as much as ever, which may well increafe my longings after you, for the exceeding grace of God in you. Now thankes be unto God for his unspeakable gift. 2 Cor. 9. 14, 15.¹²⁰

Copy of a Letter from Major Thomson to Governor
Leverett.

Sir,

I Formerly wrote you concerning some dissatisfaction that there was in some great ministers of state as to [463] your country, in that some did defraud the king of his customs in carrying tobacco, &c. to other parts, which by law ought to be brought to England. I know this is don by particular persons, and possibly unknowne to the government. Yet how to excuse it here I know not, though as I have opportunity have not bin wanting to plead the countrys excuse, and lay it where it ought to be laid; and withall to give you my advise, that it will be abundantly your interest to be diligent to prevent the like for the future, and and if any doe slipp your hands to be the informer of it yourselves. There are two of your vessells I hear gon for Holland with tobacco.

Your affectionate servant,

3d August 74.

Rob. Thomson.

Copy

¹²⁰ The remarkable circumstances of two persons who had made so considerable a figure in England will, I hope, excuse the publication of this long letter, altho' it has no immediate relation to the affairs of Massachusetts colony. H.

Copy of a Letter from Governor Leverett to Mr. John Collins.

Sir,

YOURS of the 10th April is before me and thereby understand as by Capt. Pierce of the money that was in his hand is paid according to order, also of your engaging Mr. Rushworth in our busyness and for your disburse to him, and those papers you send us and all other your charges is expected that you place to account, and not to put you to the charge; your time and endeavours for us is more than is meet we should expect from you, and I hope we shall be able in time to goe beyond, but in the meane time please to accept of the acknowledgment of your true friends, which on their behalf as my owne I hereby freely give you. For your providentially being restrayned from communicating ours to Mr. B. I am well pleased with, and shall make use thereof according to your information. I heartily desire you to present my service to the reverend my honored friend though unknown to him D. J. O. whome I have cause to acknowledge, having had through the mercy of the Lord tastes of his goodnes in attending upon him in his ordenances, by his administration, and [464] otherways by his prints. Your testimony of Sir Thomas Temple, a little before his exitt, allays the reports by others raised, I hope falsely. For the busines of the colledg with us we have cause to be humbled, that through animosities wee should cause discouragement to those at so great distance that wish us well, that they are hindered in their freedom in the forwarding of that worke, I must freely say it to you I see not the reason, but that a perverse spirit seems to be our judgment. The Lord humble us in the sence of it; yet I hope we are groweing over it. The Doctor's¹²¹ opposers loose ground, and I hope the worke will

¹²¹ Doctor Hoar the President of the College. H.

will yet be carryed an end. The not effecting the disappointment of the last commencement, and the Lord's helping the Doctor in that act to pass with general acceptance gives some hopes that he may gett over the check given him in his beginning, which may make him more cautious for time to come; who is, I doubt, not so cautious in his coming off from former engagement as he ought before he enters upon new; his not concerneing you in his relateing himselfe in church fellowship here, I cannot looke at as independently congregationall, I meane in a good sence, I have not had opportunity to speake to him, but intend it; he hath lately had an ague and since a flux, but in a hopeful way of recovery. Mr. Oakes¹²² hath had a distemper hang upon him that hath much weakned him; the greatestt occasion, I thinke, is some exercise in his mind, though he thinks it is the remayne of his sicknesse long agoe in England. I have been afraid leaft he may be of noe long continuance with us; but a graine of hopes that he may get over it. The Lord hath been graciously pleased to favor us in the seasons of the yeare for the fruits of the earth, blessed be his name. Our neighbours the Dutch have been very neighbourly since they had certaine intelligence of the peace. One of their captains have bin upon the French forts, taken Penobscot, with losse of men on both sides; what they have done further east we understand not. Your brother Moody [465] hath been lately here with us, a very sorrowful widdower by the death of his wife your sister, so the Lord hath been pleased to bereave your good father and mother of their daughter, who are helped to carry it like old disciples in the schole of Christ. I am at present in good health, but often exercised with paines of stone in the kidnyes. I have voided twoe in six months, and if there should be a proportionable growth for others, as betweene the twoe last, my time to continue, I must need accompt to be short, little sand being to run in
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¹²² Minister of Cambridge, afterwards President of the College. H.

my glafs. I defire that the numbring of my dayes may be fo as that I may have my heart applied to wifdome, and that I may waite all the dayes of my appointed time until my change come, and I be found in him who is unchangeable. I defire to fympathize with you and Mrs. Collins in your bereavements. Myfelfe and wife remember our due refpects to you both, beg the continuance of your prayers, commend you to God, and remain,
Sir,

Your truly affectionate humble servant,

J. L.

August 24. 74.

Copy of a Letter from Governor Leverett to Major
Thompson.

Boston, this 24 August 1674.

Sir,

BY yours of the 27 April 74, you give me to understand that you have information from Mr. Peter Sergeant that the authority of the Massachusetts prohibited him from selling of your powder in his hand, and from thence claim justice by the taking off the powder at the price he could have sold it; I shall not need but refer you to Mr. Sergeant, by whome these come, for the giving you a more right understanding of what he wrote, [466] for I assure you never any order past for the restrayning of him or any other to make sale of that or any other sort of goods, but the contrary, since upon the warre, an order past that the storekeeper should not deliver any but by order from some magistrates; nor will Mr. Sergeant say that ever he had any denyal upon any desire for the delivery of powder sold by him; there was one bound for Guyny, that had bought of him twenty barrels

barrels, and clandestinely, contrary to law, shipped it, so that it was seizable by a law in force when you was in these parts; which powder, upon his petition, was set at liberty, and he allowed to ship off ten barrels, the other he privetly conveyed, so that he carryed all away. At the same tyme the order before mentioned was given to the storekeeper, there was an order issued for the severall townes to have their stores fully supplied according to law, which quickened the demand of powder within ourselves; and the other collonyes understanding the order applyed themselves for liberty to recuite their stores, which was redily granted them, so that the order past by authority was noe obstruction but a furtherance to those that had of that commodity, both for quicknes of sale and advance of price, and this I hope is sufficient to rectifie your thoughts in that matter.

Sir, For the busines of Mr. Gorges pattent, which was graunted, as by the date appeares, after the Massachusets, so that the jurisdiction lyeth within the government thereof is without question here; that there hath been severall turnes therein is very true; but that there hath been any just cause of complaint of the government of the Massachusets, I am perswaded that if the whole matter weare prepared noe indifferent judges would blame them for what hath beene done by them; yet, could there be a way hit upon to stop clamours it would be a service to them. I am confident, and that upon good and rational grounds, had Mr. Gorges what he desires from the Massachusets he would not find the place turne to his profit, but rather an addition to former losse; and should any purchase his pretentions, in expectation of profit, they [467] would misse in their expectation; yet, could the busines be tooke up with him, it might be a service to this government, in preventing clamours. In order thereto, and you please to treat with them concerned, that thereby you may understand what they claime and the grounds thereof, and what proposall they will make, and give notice thereof, you should receive

receive answer thereto; or might his pretentions be bought off for five hundred pounds, and assurance given to take off all after claimes and claimers against the collony of the Massachusets, or others upon the place, and you please to ingage in it for the collony, I doe hereby oblige that the money shall be ordered to be paid there, upon such assurance given. Concerning which I may not question but that you will doe it by such advice as may be had, that it may stand good in law, and for that, possibly, you may meet with an opportunity that for present money more may be effected than by taking tyme, if you please to disburse it to the sum forementioned, I doe pass my word that you shall be imburshed your money, with consideration for the same. I should not have made thus bould with you in this matter, but from your loveing encouragement given by yours to me, and the confidence I have of that loveing respect you have to the peace and welfare of this place, and the churches of our Lord Jesus therein; desiring that what I have wrote in this matter may be for your use and noe thing therein may be imparted to any that may seeke occasion against the government thereby.

By yours of the 4th June, which came first to hand (the other not coming to my hand until the 18th instant, Mr. Sergeant can give the reason) I perceive your mind is labouring for the publique good, your informations thereto I heartily thanke you for, and shall in any thing to my power promote, for the Indian affaire with the commissioners or the other gentlemen. We are upon a worke for makeing powder and have erected a mill in order thereunto at Neponset, about 6 miles from Boston; our difficulty will be for peter, which we must, in our beginning, have from without us, but hope, in time, may reise it amongst [468] us. We have an aincient man that came out of Kent, one Walter Everden, that made powder in England, as he saith, is imployed in the worke; and for your having liberty to ship off from hence,

hence, in case you have store with us, you shall not need to doubt it, or if a stay be made for the countreys use, but that they will make pay for the same. You may assure yourself that we see it for the publique service to encourage trade, and I hope we shall not be left to strike in with others, that labour what in them lyes to put clogs and discouragement upon the trade that the Lord hath led us into, beyond expectation in our beginnings; and you will be enformed by Mr. Sergeant, that the discouragement that was laide before you was upon groundless misprision and not from any thing done by authority to occasion it; so commending you to God, I rest,

Sir, your affectionate servant,

J. L.

Copy of a Letter from Governor Leverett to Major
Thomson.

Sir,

YOURS of 3d August 74, came to my hand 26th 7ber. By Mr. Sargeant I wrote in answer to yours respecting powder and Mr. Gorges's busines. For the dissatisfaction you mention, in reference to vessels belonging to this place that goe freighted with tobacco, I doe not understand of any but one that went from our parts this yeare, mostly as it is sayd with logwood, and by charter directly bound for England, and the owners tooke bond for their ships value that noe damage should accrue to them by the freighters neglect of paying the king his duties. His name is Mr. Dervall, a Dutchman that came from New York, he marryed Mr. Delevall's daughter. If any of our vessels went, they went from Virginia, touch in England and put off part of their

Bb2 tobacco

tobacco there, as I am [469] informed. I suppose the provision made of paying the king's duty in Virginia will take off occasion of complaint for time to come; for myself I am not concerned therein, the general court having left the care of that affair with the secretary, onely shall advertise him to more circumspection in his place. I acknowledge that we are much obliged to you for your love in so friendly advising. The continuance of which favours, as it will be a service to God, so desired by him who commending you to the Lord and giving you his best respects, remains, Sir,

Your humble Servant,

Boston, 29. 7. 74.

J. L.

Copy of a Letter from Major Thomson to Governor Leverett.

London this 16 Feb. 1674.

Sir,

BY yours of the 24th of August I perceive you judge my complaint about the powder was groundless: The reason you give me. For my applying to you, it was upon my cozins Sergeants informing me, as I then wrote, which he still affirms, and though he's loath to offend the government in saying any thing now that he thinkes may not be acceptable, I thinke your owne excuse, if weyed, saith enough for me; for when 20 barrells ware sould there was a great trouble to git a licence for 10, and the other ten privately carried away, which certainly hindred others from endeavouring to buy any to send abroad, and that voyage, I know, might well have carried to advantage ten times that quantity: And I assure you, let the law be as aintient as it will, I will never (if

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I can help it) have my estate under such a restraint, and had I known it would never have had a barrel in your collony. Yet the oldness of the law takes not off the equity against the new law to compell all into one store-house, under your store-[470]keeper, and that he should deliver none but by the magistrates order; which is prejudiciall to its sayle; for trade is a seacret thinge, and when made publicke in the per-ticulers proves injurious to the concerned, but where such supervisors will make it otherwise, and soe, upon the whole, I am not satisfied, but my first demand is grounded upon reason, and soe expect you should doe me justice. The case of peter I instanced in holds good, for it was restrained by a law made before ours was imported, and yet his Majestie tooke ours off at the rate it would have yeilded, which is what you ought to doe for my powder. I am alsoe much dissatisfied with my cozin Sergeants great charge of store-house rome, 32/. per ton a year. It was a prudent case to have powder at a distance from the towne, as here in the tower, but let the quantity be never soe great that we lodge there, nothing is paid for it; soe if you had laid it upon the countrys charge, or at least a reasonable ware-house rome, it might have bin excused, but because a private person, for a barrel or two, is willing, therefore to injoine for quantities, I thinke is not equall (though a factor may consent) which alsoe I leave with you for justice.

For the business of Mr. Gorge I should willingly have disburst the money you mention, but they are now in the clouds and expect as much a yeare, secured here, for their interest; the copy of his, with others their petition, I gave Mr. Collins to send you, and is heare inclosed. The coun-cell of trade have don nothing, soe its remanded to his Majesties prevy counsell. As any thing passeth (soe far as I can learne) shall advise you, but am of opinion that some presents might be plasste to the countrys advantage, and yet of noe great vallue.

As to what you write of the 26th of September, I am glad I could say soe much to some of his Majesty's officers, yet I must informe you that the paying the custome in Virginia doth not priviledg any vessell to carry tobacco to any place but to the English plantations, and the governor of the plantation where such tobacco is brought, if it [471] be againe exported, is bound to take bond to bring it for England. I should be sorry that his Majestie should have any ground of offence in this kind, for a little profit to some particular persons, to be an occasion of depriving the whole of their chiefeft injoyments. Its objected here by some that you have noe such law there, and soe will not judg by our lawes in exporting or importing of goods to or from forraine kingdomes. If it be soe, as a true friend to you, I would advise it be one of the first things you doe to prevent greater evils, which is all the trouble that at present is given you by your affectionate and faithfull servant.

Rob. Thomson.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. John Collins to Governor
Leverett.

Sir,

YOURS by Mr. Sprague I received and desire to bleſs God for the tydings it brings of your health and your familie, and to bee suitably affected with all other providential alterations the holy and wise God hath brought amongst you, wherein I humbly beg that poor country may hear the voice of the rod and who hath appointed it. I shall take things in order as I find them in your letter, that I may not omitt to answer all that is needfull. For Dr. Hoares concerne as to the colledge, I am very sorry that matters are soe ill that nothing can heal that breach but his laying downe,
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and more that hee should put the overseers to the utmost wayting for it, which I think very little prudence in him ; by comparing report with report, letter with letter, I am almost confounded in makeing a judgment of this matter ; some foe severe as to lay all the blame on him and that not only of unmeetness for the place but several moral miscarriages ; others again wholly in charging one Mr. Graves and others of the fellows, and adding the emulation of several [472] expecting the preferment ; yourselfe, with others most judicious, parting it betwixt both. I chuse the medium to judge by ; onely methinks a passage in your letter, more direct against him than any thing formerly, doth a little startle mee, at least soe far as to beg, in your next, a true account of it, namely his want of truth in his words. Pray Sir, if you judge him justly culpable in that matter, let me privately know it, for hee is a member with us, if he returne. The enclosed copy of the letter is, as far as I remember, just as wee wrote it. My only concerne in this busines is to sympathize with the broken state of that once flourishing house, to beg of God a revival of the worke and all else in which his glory is concerned in the midst of the yeares, and to mourne over that disunited spirit amongst Gods people which appeares in this matter and all others ; and what tokens of Gods displeasure are but too evident with you ; the Lord humble his people, pardon and heal the land. For the busines of Mr. Dyers petition I know nothing of that in particular but, as I hope God hath sent in Mr. Foster, you will, by my letters, understand the same thing, in effect, which now I am able to give you an account of, as far as yet the affair hath gone. The enclosed petition will shew you what they are about to put the King upon, a purchase of the propriety of the province of Main and Hampshire, and by whome transacted ; hee that the King should buy it for is the Duke of Monmouth, though nothing as yet is determined ; many complaints are made against you ; they have thoughts of
sending

sending a commissioner thither, and it was determined to do it with some force, but their more weighty affaires and want of money will hardly admit this, I suppose, this summer; but a letter from his Majesty you will have, to order some account of these things to be given him, and I fear that which is aymed at is to call your patent to a strict account, upon what termes you hold it; you would doe well to be in a preparation for it, especially to make good your title to that part of your government. Here is none able to speake for you, wee want instructions, papers that [473] wee had formerly the late dreadful fire either consumed or removes have quite lost. My Lord Privy Seal, who was formerly wrote to and engaged on your behalfe, lately sent for mee, with whom I had discourse about an hour, who was as free as hee thought good with mee in this affair, and beyond his owne will I could not nor durst urge. I perceve hee takes it ill (my Lord Anglesea, who is Lord Privy Seal) that he hath not been addressed to,¹²³ and the matter lies before him. I begged him you might not be prejudged beforehand, which hee promised mee. Hee told mee the King would write to you. I think, if with the first you wrote an obliging letter to him and transmit your pleas to him as well as others that may wayt upon him, you will doe well. Your moneys in my hands will not, as things goe with us, stop any gap, by way of present; if the 100*l.* you drew off by Mr. Rawson had bin left with your order in my hands to have bestowed it, with good advice, where it might have been placed, it would have entangled for a long time, and perhaps everted the busenes. Mr. Rushworth hath bin in salary ever since your order, at 3 guyneys a quarter, nor is that all paid, soe that with contingent charges, which are not much, there will be near 20*l.* gone, when hee is paid, yet is not all hee hath done worth a rush; if my owne industry, with the help of Major Thomson, had not sifted this busines, about which

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¹²³ Hist. Mass. Bay, Vol. I. p. 309. H.

I have taken many a step, hee had not had the least crevise of light into this busines; all he hath and what now hee profecutes is upon my information; hee is old and full of busines, and hath but small interest at court: I intend, upon my owne head, to pay him to lady-day and then withhold, and I think, if you would order, by the first, all the money remayneing into Major Thomsons hands, hee would make a better use of it for your advantage, his employment in the East-India company gives him frequent access to court, where hee hath opportunity to give a feeling to such clerkes of the council as may serve you with true intelligence, which I cannot doe in my circumstances, having not bin at Whitehall but twice in many [474] years; and persecution is pretty hot, and if it goes on I may expect a prison for my living in the towne, and therefore I judge, on all accounts, hee is the fittest person, who if you oblige in it may doe you most service. I have not nor shall acquaint him with what I write to you, because I would leave you free to your own judgment, only I pray let mee have a dischardge of what I have disbursed that I may receive my *quietus est* out of the exchequer, the full and just summe of which you shall have by the next ships. As to what you write of the removal of more of Gods servants in the ministry, and especially Mr. Oxenbridge, lately, I doe bemoan it, the Lord of the harvest send forth more labourers into it. As to any private hints you give about my selfe what they will amount to I cannot judge till I see how providence workes, and then, I fear, my resolution will not be equal to what may be desired, how willing soever I may bee, which if I were free I should deeply ponder; I doubt the church here will as soon all remove to you as my selfe; but here is too much of an affair that I know not whether I shall bee any further concerned in than to tender my humble thanks to you for that undeserved love and respect you have shewed in your desires to have me so near to you. As for our affaires here, I have nothing to write, but
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I shall transmit in the publique prints, save only that the King, by the prevalency of the bishops over him, hath within this month or 6 weeks taken off the protection of his licences given us in March 72 and, together with a hot prosecution of the Papists, left us alsoe a very troublesome persecution, wherein many are spoyled of their goods, several imprisoned, which last cost the life of a worthy minister, Mr. Thompson of Bristol, pastor of the church there; several returned upon 20s. a month into the exchequer, to their utter undoing; this city yet escapes best, you cannot imagine how averse the spirit of the magistrates is to meddle with us; what importunity and opportunity may at last produce wee are fearful. The parliament meets April 13. how they will back these things or check them wee desire [475] to wayt with prayer and faith; all things here threaten a storme a coming upon us. All we desire, if God keep us faithfull to himselve, hee will deliver us from sin, the greatest evil, and we shall hope the wrath of man shall praise him and the remaynder he will restrayne. Things in the parts beyond sea look still as proceeding to further war and confusion; Hollands condition yet distracted, the protestants every where sufferers, and yet the popish swords drawne one against another. Methinks the coming of our Lord should bee near, in the faith of which wee desire to wayt. The parliament will one way or other give a great change to things and make mee have more news to send (which I shall communicate as opportunity serves) though I expect none good.

Sir, my father in his, by this conveyance, hath acquainted me how bountiful a patron you have bin to my brother Samuel, which I durst not omit my owning of to you with the returne of my humble thanks, begging of the Lord that hee would requite it 7 fold into the bosom of yourselfe and yours, and shall take myselfe oblinded to expresse my reall thankfulnes in all ways of service and affection, as far as I am
capable

capable. Your relations are all well and soe is my family, through Gods goodnes. The Lord, even himselfe, bee your councellor, your strength, your rock, your strong habitation, to whom you may continually resort and anoint you with his spirit, for the shields of the earth belong unto him, and cause your bow to abide in strength, that you may remain unmoved against all opposition and glorifie God in your place and finish your course with joy. My wife and selfe present our humble service to you and your lady, and desire to make mention of you always in our prayers, begging the same for

Sir,

Your most affectionate obliged

servant,

J. C.

March 19, 1674-5.

[476] Copy of a Letter¹²⁴ from Sir Edmund Andros to the Governor and Council of the Massachusetts.

Gentlemen,

HAVING allways endeavoured not to bee wanting in all neighbourly and friendly manner to your colony, this is on occasion of a printed paper set forth in your names the 7th December last past of your Indyan warre, wherein, besides, is declared that Philip and his whole crew, in his retreat towards Conecticut river, recruiting himselfe with ammunition from Albany, hath prosecuted his first designe to ruine and destroy the English, &c. The which being a severer imputation then could have been brought from enemies, without complaint or notice, much lesse from his Majesties

¹²⁴ The original is in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. A.

Majesties subjects, without any knowne cause and some in your parts convicted and fined, but no mention thereof. And having, unasked, acted as is knowne, and published through this government such severe orders concerning Indians, as appears on record, and particularly at Albany for sale of ammunition, to the forfeiting of estate and life, I doe therefore hereby desire you'll let me know by the bearer, what persons at Albany are guilty, that they may be proceeded against accordingly, or that exemplary punishment bee inflicted on the notorious impostors, to the vindication of the magistrates and all other his Majesties good subjects under his royall highnesses government in these parts, who allways have endeavoured and duely observe all his Majesties lawes. Which expecting, I remaine,

Gentlemen,

Your neighbour and friend,

Andros.

New-Yorke,
Jan. 24. 1675,

[477] Copy of a Paper endorsed Mr. E. R's Narrative
Sept. 20th and Octo. 12th 1676.

To the right honorable the Lords of his Majesties most honorable Privy Council appointed a committee for trade and plantations.

An answer to severall heads of enquiry concerning the present
state of New-England.

AND whereas amongst the severall colonies and plantations settled there that of the Massachusetts bay, commonly called the corporation of Boston, is the most flourishing
and

and powerfull, and at the present gives lawes to a great part of this country, by a pretended charter from his late Majestie, it is first in relation to this colony most humbly answered. To the first enquiry.

Where the legislative and executive powers of the government of New England are seated.

The legislative power is seated in a generall court, from which there is no appeal, consisting at present of a governor, deputy governor, and 10 magistrates, with the deputies of the severall townes in that jurisdiction, all which are yearly elected.

This court is the supreme judicature of the colony, and only hath power to make lawes, raise money, and lay taxes upon the whole colony, dispose lands, give and confirme properties, impeach, sentence and pardon, and receive appeals from all inferior courts, and cannot be adjourned or dissolved without the consent of the major part.

The governor, deputy governor and magistrates are chosen by the majority of the votes of the freemen of the colony, who are to attend at Boston, either in person or by proxy, without any summons, the last Wednesday in Easter terme, and upon that day to consummate the election, which is done by writing the names in paper, but no [478] person that hath been a magistrate the year before is to be left out¹²⁵ at the new election, and is to have the precedency in nomination before all others.

The deputies for the generall court are chosen by the freemen of every towne, who have all the power of the freemen transferred to them. No town can send more than two deputies, and where a town hath but 20 freemen that town can send but one deputy, and when not 10 freemen the town sends none; no person being an attorney is to be chosen a deputy.

No

¹²⁵ Left out of the nomination he intends. H.

No person is admitted to be a freeman of the colony, or have vote in any election but church members who are in full communion and approved by the generall court.

The governor and magistrates sit apart and act all businesse by themselves, by drawing up bills and orders, which having agreed upon, they send to the deputies to be considered, and accordingly to give their consent or dissent thereunto.

The deputies likewise sit by themselves and consult about such matters as they shall find meet for the common good, which being agreed on they present to the magistrates to be considered, who may give their consent or dissent.

No law is made without the consent of the major part of the magistrates and the greater number of the deputies. The governor hath a casting vote in all courts and assemblies, can call a generall court, or any other court or council at his pleasure.

The executive power is in the governor and council, whereof seven men make a quorum, the governor or deputy governor to be one. But when businesse is urgent then the acts of so many as do assemble are accounted valid and sufficient, and can presse soldiers, seamen, ships, all manner of ammunition and provision, and all other necessaries, and give warrant to the treasurer to make payment for the same.

The council sits twice a weeke constantly, and is summoned at the pleasure of the governor, and oftner if need be.

There be two courts of assistants yearly kept at Boston [479] by the governor, deputy governor and the rest of the magistrates, upon the first Tuesday in March and September, to hear and determine all actions of appeal from inferiour courts, and all capitall and criminall causes extending to life, member or banishment.

There are also county courts held in severall townes of the colony upon set dayes by such magistrates as the generall court

court shall appoint, for to heare and determine all causes civill and criminall, not extending to life, member or banishment. To make and constitute needfull officers, and to summon juries of inquest, tyme of holding said courts alwaies on Tuesdays.

The governor and deputy governor jointly agreeing, or any 3 magistrates consenting, have power to reprove a condemned person till the next generall court.

Every magistrate is a justice of the peace, and can determine any cause under 40s. can commit to prison and punish offenders for breach of lawes and impose fines according to discretion.

The secretary of the councill signes all warrants for the execution of persons, sitting the generall court or court of assistants.

The governor and magistrates at all courts, meetings and assemblies, have a publick table kept and their necessary expences born at the charge of the country.

And for keeping all persons in perfect obedience to their authority, it is enacted, that whosoever shall revile the person of any magistrate or minister, or shall defame any court of justice or the sentence or proceedings of the same, or the judges of any such court in respect of any act or sentence therein passed, shall be punished by whipping, fine, imprisonment, disfranchisement or banishment, as the quality or measure of the offence shall deserve.

And whosoever shall conspire and attempt any invasion, insurrection, or publick rebellion against the commonwealth, or shall endeavour to surprize any town or fort, or shall treacherously and perfidiously attempt the alteration and subversion of the frame of pollicy or government fundamentall he shall be put to death.

[480] And as a marke of sovereignty they coin mony stamped with inscription *Mattachufets* and a tree in the center, on the one side, and *New England*, with the year 1652 and

and the value of the piece, on the reverse. Their money is of the standard of England for fineness, the shillings weigh three pennyweight troy, in value of English money ninepence farthing, and the smaller coins proportionable. These are the current monies of the colony and not to be transported thence, except twenty shillings for necessary expences, on penalty of confiscation of the whole visible estate of the transporters.

All the money is stamped with these figures, 1652, that year being the æra of the commonwealth, wherein they erected themselves into a free state, enlarged their dominions, subjected the adjacent colonies under their obedience, and summoned deputies to sit in the generall court, which year is still commemorated on their coin.¹²⁶

All commissions are made in the name of the governor, with the consent of the councill, but all passes for ships and certificates are in the name of the governor only, in these formes.

Commission.

John Leverett, Esq; Governor of the Massachusetts jurisdiction in N. E. with consent of the councill.

To A. B. Captain.

WHEREAS you are chosen and appointed to be captain to a foot company under the command of C. D. generall and commander of the forces now to be sent forth in the expedition against the treacherous barbarous enemies: These are therefore to will and require you to take care and charge of the said company as their captain and diligently to attend the same charge of exercising the inferior officers and soldiers, and with your best skill and endeavour to pursue, kill and destroy the said enemy, commanding your company to obey
you

¹²⁶ This is a misrepresentation. The first money of this impress being stamped in 1652 they never altered the date, altho' they stamped more annually for thirty years together. H.

you as their captain for the service of the countrey; and you to observe and [481] obey all such orders and directions as from time to time you shall receive from your superiour officers, the general, the councill, or generall court of the Massachusetts jurisdiction in New England. At Boston, 13th June 1676.

Sealed with the seal of the colony.

Passé.

To all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting.

I John Leverett, Esq; governor of his Majesty's colony of the Massachusetts in New-England, doe testify and make known that J. W. master or commander of the Sarah frigate hath appeared before me and declared by solemn oath that the said ship or vessel of which he is at present master or commander, containing about one hundred tons, doth belong to the inhabitants of the city of London, within the dominions of his most serene and mighty prince the King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defender of the faith. So help him God. And in regard it will be most acceptable unto me that the said master or commander be assisted in his just and lawfull affairs, I doe request you and every of you, wheresoever the said master or commander shall arrive with his ship, and the goods laden on board and carryed in her, that you would be pleased to receive him courteously, use him kindly, and admit him upon paying the lawfull and usuall customes and other duties, to enter into, remain in, and passe from your port, river and dominions, and there to enjoy all kind of right of navigation, traffick and commerce, in all places where he shall thinke fit, which I shall most willingly and readily acknowledge upon all occasions. In testimony and confirmation whereof I have with my hand signed these presents, and caused them to be sealed with the public seal of the colony above-written. Dated
in

in Boston, April 29, 1676, and 28th year of his Majesties reign.

Second Enquiry. What lawes and ordinances are now in force there derogatory or contrary to those of England, and what oath is prescribed by the government?

The lawes and ordinances made in that colony are no longer observed than as they stand with their conveyance. The magistrates not so strictly minding the letter of the law when their publick interest is concerned, in all cases more regarding the quality and affection of the persons to their government than the nature of their offence. They see no evill in a church member, and therefore it is very difficult to get any sentence or verdict against him, tho' in the smallest matters.

No law is in force or esteeme there but such as are made by the generall court, and therefore it is accounted a breach of their privileges and a betraying of the liberties of their commonwealth to urge the observation of the lawes of England or his Majesties commands.

The lawes most derogatory and contradictory to those of England.

All persons of the age of 21 years, being excommunicate or condemned, have liberty to make wills and dispose of lands and estates.

In capital cases, dismembering or banishment; where no law is made by the generall court, or in case of defect of a law in any particular case, the offender to be tryed by the word of God and be judged by the generall court.

Ministers are ordained by the people, and no injunction to be put upon any church officer or member, in point of doctrine, worship or discipline, whether for substance or circumstance, besides the institution of the Lord.

Whoever

Whoever shall observe christmasse day, or the like feftivity, by forbearing to labour, feasting or other way shall pay 5s. and whosoever shall not resort to their meeting upon the Lord's day and such days of fasting and Thanksgiving as shall be appointed by authority, shall pay 5s. no days commanded by the lawes of England to be observed or regarded.

No person shall be impressed or compelled to serve in any wars but such as shall be enterprized by that commonwealth, by the consent of a generall court, or by authority derived from them.

No person whatsoever shall joine any persons in marriage but a magistrate, it being an honorable ordinance and therefore should be accordingly solemnized.

[483] All strangers professing the true christian religion that shall fly to them for succour from the tyranny or oppression of their persecutors, or for any necessary or compulsoy cause, they shall be entertained and protected amongst them according to that power and prudence God shall give them. By which law Whalley and Goffe and other traytors were kindly received and entertained by Mr. Gookins and other magistrates.

Whosoever shall be in the possession of any land 5 years, altho' the grant of said land was to another, and the possessor have nothing to shew for the alienation thereof but his possession, the possessor shall have the land confirmed to him.

No oath shall be urged or required to be taken by any person but such oath as the generall court hath considered allowed and required.

The oaths of allegiance and supremacy are neither taken by the magistrates nor required to be taken by the inhabitants, only an oath of fidelity to the government is imposed upon all persons as well strangers as inhabitants, upon the

penalty of 5*l.* for every week they shall refuse the said oath.¹²⁷

The oath of a stranger.

You A. B. doe acknowledge yourfelfe subject to the lawes of this jurisdiction during your residence under this government, and doe swear by the great name of the everliving God and engage yourfelfe to be true and faithfull to the same, and not to plot contrive or conceal any thing that is to the hurt or detriment thereof. So help you God.

The oath of an inhabitant.

Whereas I A. B. am an inhabitant within this jurisdiction, considering how I stand obliged to the king's majestie his heirs and successors by our charter, and the government established thereby, doe swear accordingly by the great and dreadful name of the ever living God, that I will bear faith and true allegiance to our sovereign lord the king his heirs and successors, and that I will be true and faithfull to the government and accordingly yield [484] assistance thereunto with my person and estate as in equity I am bound; and will also truly endeavour and preserve and maintain all the liberties and privileges thereof, submitting myfelfe unto the wholesome lawes made and established by the same; and further, that I will not plot or practice any evil against it, or consent to any that shall so doe, but will truly discover and reveal the same to lawful authority now here established for the speedy preventing thereof. So help me God in our Lord Jesus Christ.

These and all other oaths are taken by holding up the hand and not by laying the hand upon the booke.

Third Enquiry. What number of church members, freemen, inhabitants, planters, servants or slaves there are,
of

¹²⁷ Unless they gave security for their fidelity to the satisfaction of the court. H.

of what profession and estates, and how many of them men able to bear arms?

The magistrates and all other officers in the civil government or in any place of profit or advantage are church members, and are consequently freemen, but the number of the church members and freemen compared with the rest of the inhabitants (who are termed the dissenting party) is very inconsiderable, not being reckoned above one sixth part; the most wealthy persons of all professions being men of good principles and well affected to his Majesty. It is nothing but interest and designe that draws most of the people into their church membership and to think well of that religion and government they thrive under.

The inhabitants within this government, including Hampshire and Main, are computed to be upwards of one hundred and fifty thousand souls.

The chief professions are merchants who are principally seated at Boston, Salem, Charlestown, and Portsmouth, and wealthy shop keepers or retailers, who dwell in most towns of the colony, and get good estates. There are rich men of all callings and professions, and all mechanical arts and occupations thrive well.

The farmers are numerous and wealthy, live in good houses, are given to hospitality, and make good advantage by their corn, cattle, poultry, butter and cheese.

[485] There are about 30 merchants that are esteemed worth from ten to twenty thousand pounds; most have considerable estates and very great trades, and are an industrious and thriving people. There are no servants but upon hired wages, except some few who serve four yeares for the charge of being transported thither by their masters, and not above 200 slaves in the colony, and those are brought from Guinea and Madagascar.

There

There are men able to bear armes between 30 and 40,000 and in the town of Boston is computed about 4000.¹²⁸

Fourth Enquiry. What number of horſe and foot, and whether they be trained bands or ſtanding forces, and what old and experienced officers they have amongſt them?

They have no ſtanding army, but their trained bands are twelve troops of horſe and fix thouſand foot; each troop conſiſting of 60 horſe beſides officers, are all well mounted and compleatly armed with back, breaſt, headpiece, buffe coat, ſword, carbine and piſtols, each troop diſtinguiſhed by their coats. The foot alſo are very well furniſhed with ſwords, muſkets, and bandaliers. There are no pikemen, they being of no uſe in the warrs with the Indians. The late warrs have hardned their infantry, made them good firemen, and taught them the ready uſe of their armes. The pay in time of war to a captain of horſe is 6*l.* per month, to a captain of foot 4*l.* to a common ſoldier one ſhilling a day beſides victuals, and n time of peace the officers have an allowance for their expences upon the days of muſter. The preſent governor Mr. Leverett is the only old ſoldier in the colony, he ſerved in the late rebellion, under the uſurper Oliver Cromwell, as a captain of horſe. The governor of the colony is always generall, and out of the reſt of the magiſtrates is choſen the major-generall; they are places of good profit¹²⁹ and no danger, they may ſtay at home and ſhare the [486] ſpoyle, while younger men command the army in the field againſt the enemy.

Fifth Enquiry. What caſtles and forts are in New-England,

¹²⁸ This is an extravagant computation. H.

¹²⁹ The Governor never had more than £.100 per annum. I never met with any allowance to a Major-General, and ſuppoſe he had none except in actual action. H.

land, and how scituated, and what store of provifions are they furnished withall?

Three miles from Boston, upon a small island, there is a castle of stone lately built and in good repair, with four bastions and mounted with 38 guns, 16 whole culverin, commodiously seated upon a rising ground 60 paces from the water side, under which at high water marke is a small stone battery of 6 guns, these command all the vessels sailing up and down the channel of Boston. There is six fathom water by the castle, and no good going up any other way. The present commander is one Capt. Clap, an old man, his salary 50*l.* per ann. There belong to it six gunners, each 10*l.* per ann. No soldiers are there, and seldom above the captain and one gunner, who upon sight of any vessel coming up set up his Majesties flag, the only demonstration of his Majesties authority in those parts, to which all vessels are to strike, and none are to saile out from Boston but they must send their passe to the captain, which is signed by the governor, for which is paid 10*l.* and if it be a bill of health, 14*l.* There is a small brick fort lately made at the south end of Boston, with two tyre of guns, 6 in each, as it is made it is of little use, no officers or soldiers belong to it. One platforme on the north side of the towne, commanding the river to Charlestown, made of loose stones and turfe, mounted with 5 demy culverin, two small guns, no officers.

There is a small fort at Marblehead, upon a neck of land going up to the bay of Boston, but of little use.

And upon the western poynt of Great Island, at the mouth of the river of Pascataway, is a small fort in good repair, very commodiously seated and mounted with 5 guns, formerly built by John Mason, Esq; from this river come the masts and planks for England. Every vessel above 20 tuns, not belonging to the inhabitants of that colony, payes, per tun, $\frac{1}{2}$ pound of powder, or 9 pence in money, which amounts to a considerable stock.

There

[487] There are in the publick stores commonly 1000 barrels of powder, with other ammunition and armes proportionable, besides 6000 small armes lately come from England.

At Dorchester, 7 miles from Boston, is a powder mill in good repair, well wrought. There is in the country great quantities of saltpeter, especially upon islands where foule frequent, and in swamps where pigeons roost. The powder is as good and strong as the best English powder; the master of the worke is one Everfden, formerly of Battles in Suffex.

Great guns have formerly been cast in the country, but none at present, the undertakers quarrelling among themselves, and so the workes fell.

There is great plenty of iron oare, and as good iron made as any in Spain. There are six forges for making of iron in that colony.

The town of Boston, the metropolis of the colony and the residence of the governor and council is seated upon a peninsula, which with a small charge might be made very strong, being incompassed by the sea, except a small neck of land of 100 rods at low water, but not 20 at high. The town contains about 2000 houses, most built with tymbre and covered with shingles of cedar, as are most of the houses in the country, some few are brick buildings and covered with tyles.

Sixth¹³⁰ Enquiry. What are the reputed boundaries and contents of land?

The ancient bounds of the Massachusetts colony was not above 20 miles upon the sea coast,¹³¹ but the present limits are as large as that government please to make them, having
some

¹³⁰ The next three enquiries are printed in Documents relating to the Col. Hist. of New York, III. p. 240—The variations are mostly trifling, and therefore not noticed. A.

¹³¹ The bounds of the colony upon the sea coast were never controverted nor uncertain. H.

some years since taken in the two intire provinces of Hampshire and Mayne, by them, now called after other names and divided into 4 counties, Norfolk, Suffolk, Middlesex and Yorkshire, besides severall considerable townes in the other colonies of New Plymouth and Connecticut; for the Massachusetts, having the preheminance in trade, [488] strength and riches, take the liberty to clayme as farre as their convenience and interest directs, never wanting a pretext of right to any place that is commodious for them, declaring they doe not know the boundaries of their commonwealth.

And tho' his Majesties commissioners, in the year 1665, did settle the limits of severall colonies, especially the provinces of Hampshire and Main, and declared to the inhabitants that, by his Majesties commission and authority, they were taken off from the government of the Massachusetts, to the generall satisfaction and rejoycing of the people, and did constitute justices of the peace and other officers (with the approbation of the proprietors) to act and govern according to the lawes of England, and by such lawes of their owne as were not repugnant thereunto, untill his Majestie should take further order, whereupon his Majestie, by his declaration to the corporation of Boston¹³² of the 10th of Aprill 1666, did approve of the actings and proceeding of his said commissioners, and did command that noe alteration should be made, either in the boundaries or government of those colonies, and that all determinations made by said commissioners should be observed and continue untill his Majestie should make his own finall determination, yet neverthelesse, noe sooner were his Majesties commissioners returned for England, but Mr. Leveret, the present governor, Mr. Ting and Capt. Pike, and some others entred these provinces in an hostile manner, with horse and foot, and subverted the government there settled by the commissioners, imprisoned
severall

¹³² He means the Massachusetts Colony often called Boston Government. H.

severall persons, and compelled the inhabitants to submit to their usurpations. And thus taking all opportunities and advantages to improve their dominions and authority, the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts is swelled into a very large territory.

Seventh Enquiry. What correspondence doe they keep with their neighbours the French, and the government of New Yorke?

The French, upon the last treaty of peace concluded between the two crowns of England and France, had Nova [489] Scotia, now called Acadie, delivered up to them, to the great discontent and murmuring of the government of Boston, that his Majestie, without their knowledge or consent, should part with a place so profitable to them, from whence they drew great quantities of beaver and other peltry, besides the fishing for cod. Neverthelesse, the people of Boston have continued a private trade with the French and Indians inhabiting those parts, for beaver-skins and other commodities, and have openly kept on their fishing upon the said coast, tho' often forbid¹³³ by the French Kings lieutenant in Acadie last year.¹³⁴

Monsieur La Bourn, governor for the French King there, upon pretence of some affronts and injuries offered him by the government of Boston, did strictly inhibit the inhabitants any trade with the English, and moreover layd an imposition of 400 codfish upon every vessel that should fish upon the coasts, and such as refused had their fish and provisions seized on and taken away.

The French have held a civill correspondence with the inhabitants of Hampshire and Main and Dukes province, tho' the government of Boston, on all occasions, is imposing upon the French, and encouraging an interloping trade, which causes
jealousies

¹³³ Hutchinson, whose text had lost this word, notes "Something is wanting to make out the sense." A.

¹³⁴ These two words belong more properly to the next paragraph. A.

jealousies and feares in the inhabitants bordering upon Acadie, that the French will, some tyme or other, suddainly fall upon them, to the breach of the nationall peace. The government of the Massachusets hath a perfect hatred for the French, because of their too near neighbourhood, and losse of their trade, and looke upon them with an evill eye, beleeving they have had a hand in the late warre with the Indians.

As for New Yorke, there were severall things in matters of trade which occasioned a difference between the two governments, which at length rose so high that it came to a stop of trade, the Governor of New Yorke not permitting any European goods to be imported into that colony from Boston, that had not certificate or other sufficient proof to have paid custom in England, which hath ever since occasioned a misunderstanding between them.

[490] In the late Indian warre, the government of Boston did greatly complain of fort Albany, that from thence the Indians were supplied with armes and ammunition, and were encouraged to begin and prosecute the warre, but this great outcry is judged by the wiser and sober sort of people to be without any just cause, but rather a report raised out of malice and envy; for the government of the Massachusets love no government that is not like their own, and therefore they were more kind and friendly to the Dutch (even in tyme of warre) when they were possessed of New Yorke, than they are to their countrymen the English. However, the governor of New Yorke hath proved very serviceable to the Massachusets in this warre, and had the magistrates of Boston either conferred with or hearkened to the advice of Colonel Andross, the Indian warre had either been diverted or proved lesse destructive; for he offered and would have engaged the Mowhawkes and Maquot Indians to have fallen upon the Sachem Philip and his confederates, but his friendly advice and offers

were flighted.¹³⁵ Nevertheſſe, Colonel Androſs, out of his duty to his Maſteſtie, kept the aforeſaid Indians from taking any part with the Sachim Philip.

Eighth Enquiry. What hath been the originall cauſe of the preſent warre with the natives? What are the advantages or diſadvantages ariſing thereby and will probably be the End?

Various are the reports and conjectures of the cauſes of the preſent Indian warre. Some impute it to an imprudent zeal in the magiſtrates of Boſton to chriſtianize thoſe heathen before they were civilized and injoyning them the ſtrict obſervation of their lawes, which, to a people ſo rude and licentious, hath proved even intollerable, and that the more, for that while the magiſtrates, for their profit, put the lawes ſeverely in execution againſt the Indians, the people, on the other ſide, for lucre and gain, intice and provoke the Indians to the breach thereof, eſpecially to drunkenneſſe, to which thoſe people are ſo generally addiſted that they will ſtrip themſelves to their ſkin to have [491] their fill of rume and brandy, the Maſſachuſets having made a law that every Indian drunke ſhould pay 10s. or be whipped, according to the diſcretion of the magiſtrate. Many of theſe poor people willingly offered their backs to the laſh to ſave their money; whereupon, the magiſtrates finding much trouble and no profit to ariſe to the government by whipping, did change that puniſhment into 10 dayes worke for ſuch as could not or would not pay the fine of 10s. which did highly incenſe the Indians.

Some beleeve there have been vagrant and jeſuiticall prieſts, who have made it their buſineſſe for ſome yeares paſt, to goe from Sachim to Sachim, to exaſperate the Indians againſt the Engliſh and to bring them into a confederacy, and that they were promiſed ſupplies from France and other parts to extirpate the Engliſh nation out of the continent of America.

¹³⁵ I never met with any evidence of this. H.

America. Others impute the cause to some injuries offered to the Sachim Philip; for he being possessed of a tract of land called Mount Hope, a very fertile, pleasant and rich soyle, some English had a mind to dispossesse him thereof, who never wanting one pretence or other to attain their end, complained of injuries done by Philip and his Indians to their stock and cattle, whereupon Philip was often summoned before the magistrate, sometimes imprisoned, and never released but upon parting with a considerable part of his land.

But the government of the Massachusetts (to give it in their own words) do declare these are the great evils for which God hath given the heathen commission to rise against them: The wofull breach of the 5th commandment, in contempt of their authority, which is a sin highly provoking to the Lord: For men wearing long hayre and perewigs made of womens hayre; for women wearing borders of hayre and for cutting, curling and laying out the hayre, and disguising themselves by following strange fashions in their apparell: For profanesse in the people not frequenting their meetings, and others going away before the blessing be pronounced: For suffering the Quakers to live amongst them and to set up their thresholds [492] holds by Gods thresholds, contrary to their old lawes and resolutions.¹³⁶

With many such reasons, but whatever be the cause, the English have contributed much to their misfortunes, for they first taught the Indians the use of armes, and admitted them to be present at all their musters and trainings, and shewed them how to handle, mend and fix their muskets, and have been furnished with all sorts of armes by permission of the government, so that the Indians are become excellent firemen. And at Natick there was a gathered church of praying Indians, who were exercised as trained bands, under officers of their owne; these have been the most barbarous and cruel

¹³⁶ Massa. History, Vol. 1. p. 321. H.

cruel enemies to the English of any others. Capt. Tom, their leader, being lately taken and hanged at Boston, with one other of their chiefs.

That notwithstanding the ancient law of the country, made in the year 1633, that no person should sell any armes or ammunition to any Indian upon penalty of 10*l.* for every gun, 5*l.* for a pound of powder, and 40*s.* for a pound of shot, yet the government of the Massachusetts in the year 1657, upon designe to monopolize the whole Indian trade did publish and declare that the trade of furs and peltry with the Indians in their jurisdiction did solely and properly belong to their commonwealth and not to every indifferent person, and did enact that no person should trade with the Indians for any sort of peltry, except such as were authorized by that court, under the penalty of 100*l.* for every offence, giving liberty to all such as should have licence from them to sell, unto any Indian, guns, swords, powder and shot, paying to the treasurer 3 shillings¹³⁷ for each gun and for each dozen of swords; 6*d.* for a pound of powder, and for every ten pound of shot, by which means the Indians have been abundantly furnished with great store of armes and ammunition to the utter ruin and undoing of many families in the neighbouring colonies to enrich some few of their relations and church members.

[493] No advantage but many disadvantages have arisen to the English by the warre, for about 600 men have been slain, and 12 captains, most of them brave and stout persons and of loyal principles, whilst the church members had liberty to stay at home and not hazard their persons in the wilderness.

The losse to the English in the severall colonies, in their habitations and stock, is reckoned to amount to 150,000*l.* there having been about 1200 houses burned, 8000 head of cattle, great and small, killed, and many thousand bushels of wheat,

¹³⁷ 3*d.* in former edition. A.

wheat, pease and other grain burned (of which the Massachusetts colony hath not been damnified one third part, the great losse falling upon New Plymouth and Connecticut colonies)¹³⁸ and upward of 3000 Indians men women and children destroyed, who if well managed would have been very serviceable to the English, which makes all manner of labour dear.

The warre at present is near an end.¹³⁹ In Plymouth colony the Indians surrender themselves to Gov. Winslow, upon mercy, and bring in all their armes, are wholly at his disposal, except life and transportation; but for all such as have been notoriously cruell to women and children, so soon as discovered they are to be executed in the sight of their fellow Indians.

The government of Boston have concluded a peace upon these termes.

1. That there be henceforward a firme peace between the Indians and English.

2. That after publication of the articles of peace by the generall court, if any English shall willfully kill an Indian, upon due proof, he shall dye, and if an Indian kill an Englishman and escape, the Indians are to produce him, and he to passe tryall by the English lawes.

That the Indians shall not conceal any known enemies to the English, but shall discover them and bring them to the English.

[494] That upon all occasions the Indians are to ayd and
assist

¹³⁸ Randolph shows his malice against the Massachusetts in this misrepresentation, for Connecticut suffered but little by the war, and the Massachusetts lost more of their substance as well as of their inhabitants than both the other colonies together. H.

¹³⁹ The following sentence belongs here: "for the Sachem Philip not being able to support his party or confederates hath left them to make the best terms they can; he himself skulking in the woods with a small party of two or three hundred men; being in despair of making his peace." A.

assist the English against their enemies, and to be under English command.

That all Indians have liberty to sit down at their former habitations without let.

Ninth Enquiry. What are the commodities of the production, growth and manufacture of the country, and what are those imported from other places, and particularly how the trade and navigation is carried on, whether directly to and from England or otherwise, what number of ships do trade thither yearly, and of what burthen they are, and where built; and lastly, what notice is taken of the act of navigation?

The commodities of the production, growth and manufacture of New England are, all things necessary for shipping and naval furniture in great abundance, as excellent oake, elme, beech, firre, pines for masts the best in the world, pitch, tarre, hempe, and iron not inferior to that of Bilboa, clapboards, pipe staves, planks and dealboards, so that his Majestie need not be beholding to other nations for naval stores.

It abounds with horses, beefes, sheep, hogs and goats, with mighty numbers of wild beasts, as beaver, otter, moose, deer, stags, foxes, musquash, and severall other sorts, whose skins produce great profit yearly. Also great plenty of wheat, rye, barley, oats and pease, fruits of most kinds, especially apples, whereof they make great quantities of excellent cider. Fish of all sorts, especially cod, mackarell and herring, which are very large and fat. These are the staple commodities and are exported.

To Virginia, Jamaica and Maryland, beef and porke salted, pease, flower, bisket and mault, coddfish and salt mackarell.

To Barbados, Nevis, St. Christopher and the other islands,
the

the above commodities, together with horses, dealboards, pipestaves, and houses ready framed.

To Spain, Portugall and the Straights, Maderas and Canary islands, fish and timber, pipestaves and dealboards.

[495] To England, masts and yards for ships, firre and oake planks, with all sorts of peltry.

The commodities imported from the plantations are tobacco, sugar, indico, cotton wool, ginger, logwood, fustick, cacao and rume, the which are again transported to other parts.

The trade and navigation is carried on by a generall traffick to most parts of Europe, as England, Scotland, Ireland, Spain, France, Portugall, Holland, Canaries, and the Hans townes, carrying to each place such commodities as are vendible, either of their own growth and manufacture or those of the other plantations, and doe make their returns in such goods as are necessary and vendible either in New England, or in any other of his Majesties dominions in America; as brandy, Canary, Spanish and French wines, bullion, salt, fruits, oyles, filkes, laces, linnen of all sorts, cloath, serges, bayes, kersies, stockings, and many other commodities, which they distribute into all parts of the West-Indies; so that there is little left for the merchants residing in England to import into any of the plantations, those of New-England being able to afford their goods much cheaper than such who pay the customes and are laden in England. By which meanes this kingdome hath lost the best part of the western trade, there being very little exported hence but only such commodities as are properly the product and manufacture of England and cannot be had in other parts.

It is the great care of the merchants to keep their ships in constant imploy, which makes them trye all ports to force a trade, whereby they abound with all sorts of commodities, and Boston may be esteemed the mart town of the West-Indies.

There

There are some ships lately sent to Guinea, Madagascar and those coasts, and some to Scanderoon, laden with masts and yards for ships.

There are severall vessels yearly built there and sold in England and other parts, which they build very cheap.

[496] There are built in and belong to that jurisdiction.

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} 30 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 300 \end{array} \right\} \text{ Vessels from } \left\{ \begin{array}{c} 100 \\ 50 \\ 30 \\ 6 \end{array} \right\} \text{ to } \left\{ \begin{array}{c} 250 \\ 100 \\ 50 \\ 10 \end{array} \right\} \text{ Tuns.}$$

There are about 30 master-builders of ships, and ship-carpenters and other workmen and artificers proportionable.

The chief places for building are Boston, Charlestown, Salem, Ipswich, Salisbury and Portsmouth. Good ships are built for foure pounds the tun.

There is no notice taken of the act of navigation, plantation, or any other lawes made in England for the regulation of trade. All nations having free liberty to come into their ports and vend their commodities, without any restraint; and in this as well as in other things, that government would make the world believe they are a free state and doe act in all matters accordingly, and doe presume to give passports to ships, not only belonging to that colony but also to England, without any regard to those rules prescribed by his Majestie.

Tenth Enquiry. What are the taxes and fines layd upon the country, what rates and duties are charged upon goods exported and imported, what publick revenue doth arise to the government, of what nature it is and how and by whom it is collected and exacted?

The taxes layd upon the country and duely collected are,

Poll-money. Every male person of 16 years of age and upwards,

upwards, both inhabitant, lodger, child, servant or slave, payes yearly one shilling and eight pence per head.

Land-tax. Upon all estates reall and personall there is paid yearely, one penny for every twenty shillings value, upon lands, houses, mills, ships, goods, cattle, and all other known estate, whether at home or at sea. The estates of merchants and shopkeepers, being inhabitants, are rated by the rule of common estimation, according to the will and doome of the assessors. All handicraftsmen are rated for their returns and gains in their callings proportionable [497] to others. Every merchant stranger's estate is rated and payes according to the cargo he brings into the country.

Law-suits. All actions of the value of two pounds pay at entry 10s. of ten pounds, 15s. of twenty pounds and upwards, 20s. petitions to the court to obtain a debt or favour 10s. Magistrates and ministers and church elders pay no pollmoney or other taxes upon lands or personall estates.

Customs. Upon all goods imported either by sea or land.

All goods, wares and merchandizes, living cattle and provisions doth pay for every hundred				£	s.	d.
pound value				0	10	0
Fayall wines or of the western islands, per tun,				0	10	0
Madera wine				0	13	4
Canary, Sherry and Malaga wine				1	0	0
French wines				0	10	0
Brandy wine				2	0	0
Every ship of 200 tuns and upward payes				0	10	0
And small vessels, each voyage				0	6	8
Stranger's vessels according to their burth. p. tun,				0	0	6

Every vessel above 20 tuns not built in the colony
 payes each voyage half a pound of powder
 per tun, or in money — — 0 0 9

Excise. Upon all liquors retayled in publick
 houses, cider, beer & ale, per hoghead 0 2 6
 Mumme, the hoghead — — 0 5 0
 Vintners and retailers of wine doe pay per tun 5 0 0
 Brandy and all strong liquors per gallon 0 0 8

All publick houses are licensed by the magistrates and
 are obliged to clear their accounts of excise monthly,
 upon oath.

For armes and ammunition sold to the Indians.

For each gun 3s. For powder the pound 6d.
 For a dozen swords 3s. For shot every ten pound 6d.

No custum upon any thing exported except horses, which
 pay 6d.

[498] The publick revenue of the colony is computed to
 be upwards of 20000^l.¹⁴⁰ and is disposed of as the governor
 and magistrates think fit, without giving any account to the
 country, by which meanes whosoever comes into the magis-
 tracy hath an opportunity of growing rich and advancing his
 relations; it being exceeding profitable to be a magistrate of
 that corporation. It was generally beleevd there was a great
 bank of money in the treasury, there having been large sums
 collected from the year 1652, and little occasion of publick
 expence besides salaries to the magistrates and other officers,
 and maintaining a publick table: But, upon occasion of a
 present supply for carrying on the Indian warre, it was desired
 by

¹⁴⁰ Randolph has put one cypher more than he should have done. Their
 annual charges never rose to £.2000 until the Indian war, then indeed they were
 greatly increased, but not the revenue in any proportion, the colony being left
 greatly in debt which was not paid in several years. H.

by severall of the principall inhabitants that monies might be issued out of the publick treasury, but upon examination it appeared that stock had been otherwise disposed of and not one penny to be found, so that for the warre 50000*l.* hath been raysed upon the colony.¹⁴¹

The poll money and land taxes are payd in money, and collected by the constables of each town. The customes are most commonly payd in money, or the best of the specie at price curreant, and are collected by officers purposely appointed, the present collectors being the governor's son in law and the late treasurer's son.

The excise is gathered by such as the treasurer deputes and is payd in money.

There is a reasonable quantitie of silver money in the colony, but no gold.

Eleventh Enquiry. How they generally stand affected to the government of England, what persons are most popular and at present in the magistracy, or like to be at next election?

The inhabitants are generally well affected to his Majestie and his government, as well the merchants and far-[499]mers as the meaner traders and artificers, who groan under the yoke of the present government, and are in dayly hopes and expectations of a change, by his Majesties reassuming the authority and settling a general government over the whole country, without which it is feared civill warrs will in a short time breake out between the colonies, the government of the Massachusetts dayly imposing and incroaching upon their neighbours, and therefore the loyal colonies of New Plymouth, Connecticut, New Hampshire and Main, seeing these inconveniences dayly increasing by a divided government,
are

¹⁴¹ This, I doubt not, is a most injurious insinuation. H.

are very desirous of submitting to a general governour to be established by his Majestie.¹⁴²

Amongst the magistrates some are good men and well affected to his Majestie, and would be well satisfied to have his Majesties authority in a better manner established, but the major part are of different principles, having been in the government from the time they formed themselves into a commonwealth. These direct and manage all affaires as they please, of which number are Mr. Leverett, governour, Mr. Symons, deputy-governour, Mr. Danforth, Mr. Ting, Major Clarke and Major Hathorn, still continued a magistrate, tho' commanded by his Majestie upon his allegiance to come into England, yet refused, being encouraged in his disobedience by a vote of the court, not to appear, upon some reasons best known to themselves.¹⁴³ These, with some few others of the same faction, keep the country in subjection and slavery, backed with the authority of a pretended charter. These magistrates have continually disobeyed his Majesties command contained in his royall letters 1662, 64, 65, 66, and those of March last, ever reserving to themselves a power to alter, evade and disannull any law or command not agreeing with their humour, or the absolute authority of their government, acknowledging no superior or admitting any appeal to his Majestie, whose armes are not set up in any of their courts, meetings or publick assemblies.

[500] The most popular and well principled men are Major Denison, Mr. Broadstreet and Mr. Dudley, in the magistracy; and of military men Major Savage, Captains Curwin, Saltonstall, Brattle, Richards, Gillam, Moseley, Majory, Champernoon, Shapleigh, Phillips, with many others, who only wait for an opportunity to expresse their duty to his Majestie.

The present magistrates are Mr. Leverett, governor, Mr. Symons,

¹⁴² Not one man in a hundred throughout the governments then desired it. H.

¹⁴³ Massa. History Vol. I. p. 253. H.

Symons, deputy governor, Major Dennison, Mr. Ting, Danforth, Bradstreet, Hathorn, Pyncheon, Stoughton, Clarke, Dudley, Russell lately dead.

Whoever are in the magistracy doe for the most part continue till death, by the help of persons of their faction and of a law commanding that at every new election the former magistrates be first put to vote, upon penalty of ten pounds.

The clergy are for the most part very civill and inclining to his Majesties government, being held in subjection by the ruling elders, who govern all affairs of the church.

Twelfth Enquiry. What is the present state of the ecclesiasticall government, how are the universities, at present, filled and by whome governed?

The ecclesiasticall government is in the hands of lay-elders, these being the lawes and constitutions.

No person is permitted to gather a church without the approbation of three of the magistrates and the elders of the neighbour churches.

Every church hath liberty of election and ordination of officers and ministers to exercise all the ordinances of God, according to the rules of the scripture. To celebrate daies of fasting, prayer and thanksgiving, according to the word of God. No injunction to be put upon any church, church officer, or member in point of doctrine, worship or discipline, whether for substance or circumstance, besides the institution of the Lord. Hath liberty of admission, recommendation, dismission and expulsion of their officers and members, with free exercise of the discipline and censures of Christ, according to the rules of the word.

[501] The civill authority hath power to see the peace, ordinances and rules of Christ observed in every church and to deal with any church member, in a way of civill justice, notwithstanding any church relation, office or interest.

No

No church censure shall degrade or depose any man from any civill dignity, office or authority he shall have in the commonwealth.

Whosoever shall interrupt any minister in his preaching or charging him with any error he hath not taught, shall pay five pounds.

The ministry in Boston are payd by a collection weekly made in the severall congregations, by the elders, who give the minister what they think fit; but in other towns they have a settled maintenance by a rate layd on every inhabitant, and houses are provided for them.

There are three colledges built in Cambridge, one with timber at the charge of Mr. Harvard and bears his name; a small brick building called the Indian colledge, where some few Indians did study, but now it is a printing house; new-colledge, built at the publick charge, is a fair pile of brick building covered with tiles, by reason of the late Indian warre not yet finished. It contains 20 chambers for students, two in a chamber; a large hall, which serves for a chappel; over that a convenient library, with some few bookes of the ancient fathers and school divines, but in regard divinity is the generall study, there are many English bookes of the late non-conformist writers, especially of Mr. Baxter and Dr. Owen. Here they teach Hebrew before they well understand Latin. No formalities or distinctions of habits, or other decencies, as in England, much lesse these exhibitions and supports for schollars. They take no degrees above master of arts.

Their commencement, kept yearly the 2d of August, in the meeting-house, where the governor and magistrates are present, attended with throngs of illiterate elders and church members, who are entertained with English speeches and verses. Most of the students are come for England, and at present no settled president, but one Mr. [502] Oakes, a rigid independent, supplies the place. The allowance of the

the president is 100*l.* per ann. and a good house. There are but 4 fellowships, the two seniors have each 30*l.* per ann. and the two juniors 15*l.* but no diet is allowed: These are tutors to all such as are admitted students. Mr. Thomas Graves, an ingenious and worthy person, was put by his fellowship, by the late Dr. Hoar, because he would not renounce the church of England. The government of these colleges is in the governor and magistrates of the Massachusetts and the president of the college, together with the teaching elders of the six adjacent towns.

As to the colonies of New-Plymouth and Connecticut, it is humbly offered.

The lawes of England are there observed with such of their own as are not contradictory thereunto. The oath of allegiance is taken by every magistrate and officer, whether civil or military, and by all freemen. All commissions, proclamations, writs and summons are in his Majesties name.

The number of inhabitants in both colonies are computed to be 80000 soules. There are noe slaves, only hired servants. The chief professions are farmers, graziers and fishermen. Very few merchants, they being supplied with all forreign commodities from Boston.

The militia consists of 4 troops of horse and 5 regiments of foot, who are well armed and disciplined, no old soldiers among them. The number fit to bear armes 20000.

The country is very fertile and pleasant and abounds in corn and cattle, and produceth very good horses, the best in all N. E. which are sent into severall parts. There is great abundance of tarre and excellent good hemp, and there is made good quantity of whale oyle, which fish they take upon the coasts. The act of navigation is duely observed. No stranger is admitted to come into their ports. They have no ships

ships of burthen, but only small ketches and barks, to trade along the coasts and take fish.

[503] They are generally very loyall and good people, and doe upon all occasions expresse great love to the person and government of his Majestie, and doe heartily wish that his Majesties authority were established over the whole country.

The present governor of New Plymouth is Josiah Winslow, Esq; a person eminently popular and beloved in all the colonies of N. E. and was generall of the united forces against the Indians.

The governor of Connecticut is Wm. Leet, Esq; a very worthy person, as are most of the magistrates of that colony.

The losses which these colonies have sustayned by the Indian warre is estimated to be near 100,000 pound.

This is (may it please your Lordships) the best account I have been able to gather, during my short stay in those parts, as well from my own observation as from the information of others. And for what passed particularly between the magistrates of Boston and myself, upon the delivery of my letters, and with the inhabitants of that and the other colonies, I have presented his Majestie with a short narrative. A copy whereof is hereunto annexed.

12 October 1676.

Edward Randolph.

To the Kings most excellent Majestie.

A short narrative touching the delivery of your Majesties letters to the magistrates of Boston in New-England, by Edward Randolph.

May it please your Majestie,

HAVING received your Majesties letters for the governor and magistrates of your Majesties town of Boston
in

in N. E. dated 20th of March last, with my particular instructions from the right hon. Mr. secretary Coventry, upon the 30th of the sayd month I sayled from the Downes. After a tedious passage of 10 weeks arrived at Boston on 10th June. At my landing I went immediately to the governor John Leveret, and shewed him your [504] Majesties passe and acquainted him with the cause of my coming, and that I had brought a letter from his Majestie unto the magistrates of that colony, and did therefore desire him that, with what convenient speed might be, the magistrates might be assembled to hear your Majesties letter read. The governor answered, that the council was to meet that afternoon, upon other businesse, and that then I should be sent for; as I was, by the marshall of their court; where being come and admitted into the councill, I delivered your Majesties letters to the governor, there being six of the magistrates and their secretary assembled with him, and there being a chaire placed purposely for me, I was desired by the governor to sitt.

The governor having opened your Majesties letter sayd to the rest of the magistrates, it was a letter from your Majestie, and looking to the bottom of the letter, he read by his Majesties command Hen. Coventry. The governor asked me who that Mr. Coventry was. I told him he was your Majesties principall secretary of state.

At the beginning of the reading of your Majesties letter, the whole councill being covered, I put off my hat; whereupon three of the magistrates tooke off their hats and sate uncovered; but the governor with the rest continued to keep their hats on.

Your Majesties letters, with the inclosed petitions of Mr. Mason and Mr. Gorges, being read in my hearing, the governor told the councill that the matters therein contained were very inconsiderable things and easily answered, and it did no way concern that government to take any notice thereof. I acquainted them that your Majestie had com-

manded me to require an answer of your sayd letters, and for which your Majestie had ordered me one month to attend. The governor answered, that they should consider of those things. Whereupon I withdrew.

Then I delivered the particular letters of Mr. Mason, which he had writt unto severall of the most eminent inhabitants of Boston, some whereof are the principall officers of the militia. These gentlemen received me with [505] much kindnesse and expressed great loyalty to your Majestie. The letters he wrote were to give them an account of the contents of your Majesties letters, his own complaints against the proceedings of that government, with the occasion of my coming into these parts, desiring them to communicate the same to others, the which was soon spread abroad, to the great pleasure and satisfaction of all those who are well-wishers to your Majestie.

Within a day or two after my arrivall, I met with a report which seemed artificially rayfed to amuse and distract the people about domestique troubles here in England, the sume whereof was, that the Duke of Yorke, with diverse of the nobility, upon discontent, had left the court, and had applied themselves to the citty for assistance, and that all was going to confusion at home. This was reported with much confidence, and sayd to be writt from some very good people in London, and therefore must be true. I soon confuted this report, by many arguments, shewing them the falsenesse of it, and so in a short tyme it vanished.

After two days consideration it was resolved in their councell that thanks be returned to your Majestie for your gracious letter, and that an answer be forthwith sent by a matter of a vessel ready to saile for London.

The 15th of June I was sent for to the councell. The governour asked me whether I intended for London by that ship that was ready to saile, if so I should have a duplicate of their letter to your Majestie, the originall being to accompany

pany his own particular answer to a letter he had received from Mr. secretary Williamson by the same master of the ship I came with. I told them I had other matters of concern under my charge, and should not return so soon, and withall asked them if they had well considered of his Majesties letter and the inclosed petition in so short a time, and concluded on their agents and the time of their going for England, to which they gave me no reply, but the governour asked me if I had any thing further to offer them from your Majestie, I told them I had [506] nothing further to communicate to them, whereupon the governor said that he looked upon me as Mr. Mason's agent, and that I might withdraw.

The day after, I went to visit the governour at his house, and among other discourse I told him I tooke notice of severall ships that were arrived at Boston, some since my being there, from Spain, France, Streights, Canaries and other parts of Europe, contrary to your Majesties lawes for encouraging navigation, and regulating the trade of the plantations. He freely declared to me that the lawes made by your Majestie and your parliament obligeth them in nothing but what consists with the interest of that colony, that the legislative power is and abides in them solely to act and make lawes by virtue of a charter from your Majesties royall father, and that all matters in difference are to be concluded by their finall determination, without any appeal to your Majestie, and that your Majestie ought not to retrench their liberties, but may enlarge them if your Majestie please, and said, your Majestie had confirmed their charter and all their privileges by your Majesties letter of the 28th of June 1662, and that your Majesty could doe no lesse in reason than let them enjoy their liberties and trade, they having upon their own charge and without any contribution from the crown made so large plantation in the wildernesse, and that during the Dutch warrs your Majestie sent ammunition
to

to New-Yorke for that place, but sent them word they must shift for themselves and make the best defence they could, and that notwithstanding the colony had many enemies, yet they did believe your Majestie to be their very good friend, for that your Majestie had by severall letters expressed your great kindnesse to them.

Within a few days after I met with one Mr. Harris, a gentleman who arrived there from England about six months before, who told me that at his arrival at Boston, he was, according to their law, conducted to the governor, which enjoins all masters of vessels to bring all passengers to the governor upon penalty of 20*l.* who enquiring of [507] him if he knew Mr. Mason and whether he was coming over and what commissioners were coming with him, Mr. Harris told him there was a report that Mr. Mason was to come over. The governor then said he had received information from England that commissioners had come over last summer or the spring, but that your Majestie had not money to defray that charge and set them forth, and did therefore beleave no commissioners would come.

The 23d June I gave in a memoriall to the governour, the councill being then assembled at his house, wherein I acquainted them that in pursuance of my instructions I did remind them of your Majesties command of sending over agents that might be sufficiently qualified and impowered, and did desire that seeing a generall court seemed much more proper for dispatch of matters of so great and weighty concerns, that a generall court might on this occasion be assembled, that so I might receive their deliberate and solemn answer to your Majesties letters, for the which I would attend. But hereunto they gave me no other answer then that when I was ready to saile for England I should have a copy of their letter which they had writ unto your Majestie.

About the beginning of July, I went into the province of
New-Hampshire,

New-Hampshire, belonging unto Mr. Mafon, but now divided by the Bostoneers into three counties, and by them called Norfolk, Suffolk and Middlefex. And travailed through severall of the most considerable towns, acquainting the inhabitants with the occasion of my coming into the country, and read Mr. Mafon's letter unto them, which gave them great satisfaction, the whole country complaining of the oppression and usurpation of the magistrates of Boston, imposing ministers upon them, not admitting them to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, denying baptism to their children, and liberty of choosing their own magistrates and officers because they were not members of their congregations. And as a farther marke of their power and sovereignty over them they send twice a year magistrates from Boston to keep courts for trying of causes, and that [508] they lay at pleasure what impositions, fines and taxes they thinke fit upon their estates, persons and trade, contrary to the lawes of England, and that they have been for a long time earnestly expecting to be delivered from the government of the Massachusetts Bay, and doe now humbly hope your Majestie will not permitt them any longer to be oppressed, but will be graciously pleased to give them relief, according to the promises made them by your Majesties commissioners in 1665, who were then in that province, and declared them not to be under the government of Boston.

And being at Portsmouth, a town of very great trade, lying upon the river of Piscataway, in the northermost part of New-Hampshire, about seventy miles from Boston, severall of the principall inhabitants of the province of Main, belonging unto Mr. Gorges, and now by the Bostoneers, since the seizing thereof, called Yorkshire, came unto me making the same complaints, with those of New-Hampshire, entreating me to represent their condition to your Majestie and are passionately expecting relief, some of them having been suffered to be ruined by the Indians for having formerly ex-
pressed

pressed their duty to your Majestie when your Majesties commissioners were in that country, and for having taken commissions from them to act as justices of the peace.

At my return to Boston I received a message from Josiah Winflow, Esq; governor of your Majesties colony of New-Plymouth, desiring I would give him a visit before I left New-England. Whereupon I made a journey to him, whome I found a gentleman of loyal principles and hath shewed himself a person of great courage and conduct in the management of the Indian warre, those barbarous people being chiefly overcome by his conduct and troops, which makes him to be feared and not loved by his neighbours the Bostoners.

In his discourse he expressed his great dislike of the carriage of the magistrates of Boston to your Majesties royall person and your subjects under their government; [509] of their inroaching upon the rights, trades and possessions of the neighbouring colonies, laying what rates they please on the commodities and products of the other colonies imported into their harbours; the dayly breach of your Majesties lawes concerning trade and navigation, trading with and encouraging all nations to trade with them, to the great prejudice and detrement of your Majestie and this your kingdom: And that he, finding the inconveniences of a divided government dayly arising, did say, that New-England could never be secure, flourish, nor be serviceable to your Majestie, untill the severall colonies and plantations were reduced under your Majesties immediate government, and that the colonies of New-Plymouth and Connecticut would readily and willingly submit to your Majesties pleasure and commands in the disposall and settlement of the civill government.

That during my stay at Boston I made acquaintance with severall of the chief inhabitants and some of the magistrates, and did particularly informe myself of the humour, disposition

tion and affections of the people, and found the principal inhabitants, some whereof are the chief officers of the militia, and the generality of the people complaining of the arbitrary government and oppression of their magistrates and doe hope your Majestie will be pleased to free them from this bondage by establishing your own royall authority among them and govern them according to your Majesties lawes. And many of the better sort did intreat me to represent this their condition to your Majestie, not daring publickly to expresse their desires or complaint by petition, because of the severity and arbitrary proceeding of their rulers, and that many of them have been sufferers for petitioning formerly. Altho' at the general court in Octob. 1666, upon occasion of your Majesties letter and declaration of the 10th Aprill in the said year, which petition was subscribed by upwards of 100 of the principall inhabitants of that colony, wherein they did assert your Majesties right of jurisdiction and sovereignty over them, a copy whereof is hereunto annexed, [510] being given me by some of the chief persons that had subscribed it, desiring that your Majestie might see the same; these gentlemen for delivering this petition, did then receive a severe check, the petition voted scandalous, they stiled the betrayers of the liberties of that colony and ill-affected to that government, for which some of them have been greatly prejudiced in their estates and fortunes, and still lye under many inconveniences, and are not admitted into any offices of the government or choyce of the magistrates.

Being ready to return for England, the tyme allotted by your Majestie being expired, I went to the governor on the 20th July, for my dispatches, and was entertained by him with a sharp reproof for publishing the substance of my errand into those parts, contained in your Majesties letters, as alsoe in Mr. Mafons petition and what he represented to his friends there, with that of Mr. Gorges unto the inhabitants of Boston, New-Hampshire and Main, telling me that I
designed

designed to make a mutiny and disturbance in the country and to withdraw the people from their obedience to the magistracy of that colony and the authority thereof. I told him, if I had done any thing amisse, upon complaint made to your Majestie he would certainly have justice done him.

The governor then gave me the duplicate of a letter directed unto the right honorable Mr. Secretary Coventry, which he told me was the answer which the councill thought fit to give to your Majesties letters, the originall being sent for England a month before.

At my departure from him, both he and some of the magistrates, severally, intreated me to give a favourable report of the country and the magistrates thereof, adding, that those that blessed them God would blesse, and those that cursed them God would curse. And withall, desired me to acquaint your Majestie that whatever reports were raysed against them, by wicked and evill minded men, to draw away your Majesties grace and favour from them, yet they were a people truly fearing the Lord and very obedient to your Majestie.

[511] So that altho' by your Majesties command I was sent to the magistrates of Boston, and was named in your royall letters as one who should solicit a fit determination in the businesse depending, and bring back the answer thereof, yet I must wholly refer myself to their own answer, they not having thought fit to acquaint me with the contents thereof.

All which I doe most humbly certify.

20 September 1676.

To the honored generall court now assembled in Boston.¹⁴⁴

May it please this honored court,

YOUR humble petitioners being informed that letters are lately sent from his Majestie to the governor and
councill,

¹⁴⁴ A copy by Rawson is in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. A.

councill, expreſſing his ill reſentment of the proceedings of this colony with his commiſſioners lately ſent hither, and requiring alſo ſome perſons therein particularly named,¹⁴⁵ with command upon their allegiance, to attend his Majeſties pleaſure, in order to a final determination of ſuch differences and debates as have happened between his Majeſties ſayd commiſſioners and the government here; which declaration of his Majeſtie your petitioners looking at as a matter of the greateſt importance and juſtly calling for more ſerious conſideration, that they might neither be wanting to yourſelves in withholding any encouragement that their concurrence might afford in ſo arduous a matter, nor to themſelves and the country being involved by their ſilence, in the dangerous miſtakes of ſome perſons (tho' otherwiſe well-minded) inclining to diſloyal principles, they deſire they may have liberty, without offence, to propoſe ſome of their thoughts and fears about that matter unto your moſt ſerious conſideration.

Your petitioners humbly conceive that they who live in this age of the world are not leſſe than others concerned in that advice of the wiſeman, to keep the kings commandment, and that becauſe of the oath of God, and not to be haſty to goe out of his ſight that doth whatſoever [512] pleaſeth him. Wherefore they deſire that ſeeing his Majeſtie hath already taken no little diſpleaſure againſt us as if we diſowned his Majeſties juriſdiction over us, effectual care may be taken left by reſuſing to attend his Majeſties orders for clearing pretences unto right and¹⁴⁶ favour in that particular, we ſhould plunge ourſelves into greater diſfavour and danger.

The receaving a charter from his Majeſties royall predeceſſor for the planting of this colony, with a confirmation of the ſame from his royal perſon, by our late addreſſe ſufficiently declare

¹⁴⁵ The ms. reads *ſome principal perſons therein*. A.

¹⁴⁶ Omitted in the former edition. A.

declare this place to be part of his dominions, and ourselves his subjects, in testimony of which also our first governour Mr. Mathew Cradock, as we are informed, stands recorded *juratus de fide & obedientiâ* before one of the masters of chancery, whence it is evident that if any proceedings of this colony have given occasion to his Majestie to say that we beleave he hath no jurisdiction over us, what effectual course had need be taken to free ourselves from incurring his Majesties farther displeasure, by continuing in so dangerous an offence, and to give his Majestie all due satisfaction in that point. Such an assertion would be no lesse destructive to our welfare than derogatory to his Majesties honour. The doubtful interpretation of the words of a patent, which there can be no reason to beleieve can¹⁴⁷ ever be construed to the divesting of a sovereign prince of his royall power over his naturall subjects and liege people, is too frail a foundation to build such a transcendent immunity and privilege upon.

Your petitioners shall ever be willing to acknowledge to the utmost how much they are bound to yourselves and others in the like capacity for your abundant care and paines in carrying on the government of this colony and endeavouring to uphold the liberties thereof, and should not be unwilling to run any hazard with you for the regular defence and security of the same, and would be most unwilling to reflect upon the persons of them they so much honour and respect, by an unnecessary¹⁴⁸ dissenting from them in some things wherein they could not approve the [513] reasons of their proceedings, but in matters of so great concernment as that now in agitation, wherein the honour of God, the credit of religion, as well as the interest of our own persons and estates are all concerned.

They earnestly desire, that no party will so irresistably carry
on

¹⁴⁷ The ms. reads *hope should*. A.

¹⁴⁸ A necessary in former edition. A.

on any design of so dangerous consequence as to necessitate their brethren, equally engaged with them in the same undertaking, to make a particular addresse to his Majestie and declaration to the world to clear themselves from the least imputation of so scandalous an evill, as the appearance of disaffection, or disloyalty to the person and government of their lawfull prince and soveraign would be.

Wherefore your petitioners doe humbly intreat, that if any occasion hath been given unto his Majestie so to resent any of your former actions, as in his last letter is held forth, that nothing of that nature be further proceeded in, but contrawise that application be made to his Majestie by meet persons immediately to be sent for that end, to clear the transactions of them that govern this colony from any such construction, least otherwise that, which duly improved, might have been as a cloud of the latter rain, be turned into that which in the conclusion may be more terrible than the roaring of a lyon.

Thus craving a favourable interpretation of what is here humbly presented, your petitioners shall ever be obliged to thankfullnesse.

This petition was signed by upwards of an hundred of the principal inhabitants of the Massachusetts colony, and presented by them to the generall court at their meeting in Boston in October 1666, upon occasion of his Majesties declaration of the 10th of April in the same year.¹⁴⁹

Copy

¹⁴⁹ This I have no doubt is a true copy of a petition which appears by the records to have been presented to the general court and, if it had been presented twenty years before, the court would have made the petitioners smart for their intermeddling, as they did Child and others. See Massa. Hist. Vol. I. p. 147. H.

[514] Copy of a Letter from Mr. John Knowles to
Governor Leverett.

London, this 6 July 1677.

Ever honoured Sir,

THERE comes with this another letter to yourselfe from mee, which Mr. Rawson will give you, with that which your committee here for the colledge hath sent to the overseers. There is one Mr. Smith, I think his name is soe, an expert surveyor, who hath built forty of these famous houses in London, though he be a stranger to myselfe, yet hath the commendations of eminent ministers for his goodness, besides some of the chiefe workmen in the city for his ability in his calling. If you make use of him about the colledge, you may doe well to pay his passage, or as you please; I have agreed with him for nothinge, because he desired to be left free.

Sir, there is another trouble which I presume to putt upon you, which is, to speak to the reverend Mr. Higginson, pastour of Salem, to move that congregation to doe something for the maintenance of Mrs. Peters,¹⁵⁰ who, since her husband suffered here, hath depended wholly upon Mr. Cockquaine and that church whereof he is pastour. I fear she will be forced to seke her living in the streets, if some course be not taken for her relief, either by Mr. Higginson or Mr. Oxenbridge, or some other sympathizing minister. Sir, I pray you, present my best respects to both of them. Little news here since my last, which was directed to yourselfe. Here is great talke of the German Emperor and the Sweeds joyning with the Hollander. The treaty of peace at Coligne is sayd to be broken up, our navy is going forth suddainly, it is violently suspected that all our East India men are taken by the Dutch, and some of our factoryes. The
blessed

¹⁵⁰ Widow of Hugh Peters. H.

bleſſed God ſtrengthen your heart and hand in that great work which he hath called [515] you to. Thus my beſt reſpects unto yourſelfe, and good Mrs. Leverett, I commend you to God's bleſſing in Chriſt Jeſus.

Sir, your faithful friend and ſervant,

John Knowles.

Copy of a Letter from King Charles II. to the Governour and Council of the Maſſachuſetts Colony.

CHARLES R.

TRUSTY and well beloved, We greet you well. Whereas We have been given to underſtand that you did in the month of October laſt, paſſe a law in your aſſembly at Boſton for the reviving and adminiſtring a certain oath¹⁵¹ of fidelity to the country; and whereas the enjoyning the ſaid oath at ſuch time, when you had intimation by your agents here of our being diſpleaſed with the forme thereof, is highly diſreſpectfull to Us, and ſeems to be intended as a ſnare in the way of many of our good ſubjects there, of whoſe preſervation We ſhall ever be tender; We have thought fit hereby to ſignify to you, that We take the untimely renewing and enjoyning of the ſaid oath very ill, and that We look upon the ſame as derogatory to our honour as well as defective in point of your duty, inasmuch as the allegiance due to us, and the fidelity to the country are joyned together in the ſame undecent forme, wherein ſuch fidelity is made even to precede your allegiance to us. And though We doe not, for the preſent, preſcribe what forme may be proper amongſt your ſelves, as to your corporation oath, yet We doe hereby
ſtrictly

¹⁵¹ See Maſſachuſetts Records, Vol. V. pp. 154, 193. A.

strictly require and command you to give order that the oath of allegiance, as it is by law established in this Our kingdom of England, a copy of which oath attested by one of Our principall secretaries of state you will receive herewith inclosed) be administered unto and taken by all Our subjects, inhabitants within that Our colony, who are of years to take an oath, wherein We expect your entire [516] obedience and utmost care, this being soe fundamentall a concerne to Our dignity and government, We could not omit any longer to signify to you Our pleasure therein, though severall other matters of moment relating to that Our colony are still depending before Us, in which We are not come to any finall resolution. And so We bid you farewell. Given at Our court at Whitehall, the 27th day of Aprill 1678, in the thirtieth yeare of Our Reigne.

By his Majesties command,

Williamfon.

Copy of a Petition and Address of the General Court
of the Massachusetts to the King.

To the King's most excellent Majestie.

The humble petition and address of the governour and company of your Majesties colony of the Massachusetts in New-England,

Humbly sheweth,

THAT whereas your sayd petitioners have since your Majesties most happy restauration, upon their severall addresses in the yeares 1661, 62, &c. received many signal and gracious returns of favor (confirmation of our charter, pardon of our errors, assurance of your royall inclination to promote

promote the trade and happines of this plantation) proceeding only from your royal goodnes, which hath highly obliged us to all due acknowledgments thereof, as wee have had opportunity ; and wee shall, in future, at no time omit to manifest (according to our capacitie) our harty and sincere affection to your Majesties service and interest, as in duty wee are bound : And therefore most humbly implore the continuance of those gracious influences, whereby your poore subjects here have been soe much refreshed in their great sufferings and distresses, and that your Majestie, according to your innate wisdome and [517] goodnes, will receive no impressions from any that, for their owne evil ends, shall endeavour (by false or mistaken reports) to represent us as affecting and aspiring to a greatnes independent on your Majesties soveraignty over us, or incompatible with the duty of good and loyall subjects to a most gracious King, in whose prosperity and happines wee most hartily rejoyce and for which we daily pray.

In humble obedience to your Majesties command in 76, wee dispatched our good friends Mr. William Stoughton and Mr. P. Buckley, to attend your Majesties pleasure concerning the bounds of our patent, in reference to Mr. Gorges and Mr. Mafon, wherein, as wee have been informed, your Majestie hath declared your pleasure as to the settlement of the bounds of our patent, and our right of government therein according to our charter ; which is matter of great satisfaction to all your good subjects here, it being their utmost ambition to enjoy, under your royal protection and allegiance, the knowne and declared ends of the first undertakers, which hath hitherto been carryed on at their owne charge, both formerly and lately, defended by a greater expence of bloud and treasure than will easily be believed ; whereof they cannot but desire to reape the fruits, which they assure themselves they may, without any diminution of your Majesties greatnes,

nes, dominion or glory, which, with your Majesties pardon, wee are bold to affirme will not be advanced by any innovation or alteration of our present settlement.

Wee humbly supplicate your Majestie that our messengers, having dispatched the busines betruisted with them by us and commanded to attend by your Majestie, may be at liberty to returne, and not be obliged to make answer to such complaints as are made by unquiet spirits, who seek not your Majesties but their owne advantages and our distres. And what shall be incumbent on us, wee shall with all dutifullnes attend, as becomes good christians and loyal English subjects, and shall glory in giving your Majestie all just satisfaction, not insisting upon any errata that may have slipped us in 48 years, especially in our infancy, [518] or in the times of the late confusions, for which (as wee have had) wee again most humbly implore your Majesties gracious pardon, which will further oblige us for the future to be most observant of your royal pleasure, as to your establishment of us according to the charter granted by your royal father and confirmed by your royal selfe upon several occasions.

Let your Majestie be pleased to accept from our messengers abovesaid an account of our ready obedience to your Majesties command for taking the oath of allegiance in the forme prescribed, and our repealing that law referring to the oath, so ill resented by your Majesty, with some orders Mr. Attorney and Mr. Sollicitor excepted against, as our messengers have intimated. Wee might recount the particulars and present our further desires, but fearing wee have been too tedious to detaine your Majestie from your more important affaires, and not being in a present capacitie to manifest our gratitude by a suitable acknowledgment of your constant goodnes, by reason of the great desolations, charges and debts contracted and yet remaining upon us by the late insurrections

insurrections and outrages of the Indians, wee prostrate at
 your Majesties feete, and humbly beg the acceptance of the
 loyal harts of your Majesties
 most humble subjects and suppliants,

The governor and company of the
 Massachusets colony in New-England.

The magistrates have past this addresse, their brethren the
 deputies hereto consenting.

Boston 10 Octob. 1678.

Edw. Rawson, Secr.

The deputies consent hereto,

William Torrey, Cleric.

Voted by the whole court mett together, 16. 8. 78. as now
 it is amended,

Edw. Rawson, Secretary.

[519] Copy of a Letter from King Charles II. to the
 Governor, &c. of the Massachusets.

CHARLES R.

TRUSTY and well beloved, Wee greet you well.
 These our letters are to accompany our trusty and
 well beloved William Stoughton and Peter Bulkley, Esqrs.
 your agents, who having manifested to us great necessity in
 their domestick concernes to returne back into New-Eng-
 land, Wee have graciously consented thereunto, and the
 rather because, for many months past, our councill hath been
 taken up in the discovery and prosecution of a popish plott,
 and yet there appears little prospect of any speedy leaseure for
 entring upon such regulation in your affaires as is certainly
 necessary, not only in respect of our dignity but of your

owne perfect settlement. But it is very probable that if either your said agents had brought commission to intermeddle in such regulation (which they have disowned) or that you had sent such commission after them, when, from time to time, intimations were given them of what wee did expect, and what wee were thereupon willing to grant, neither their stay had been thus long, nor had the matter now been undetermined. Wee must therefore attend a further opportunity for this work and, in order thereunto, our will and pleasure is, that you send out such other fitt person or persons, duly instructed, and send them in six months after the receipt of these our letters, that they may here attend us in the prosecution of the same: For since the charter, by its frame and contents, was originally to be executed in this kingdome¹⁵² and not in New-England, otherwise than by deputation (as is accordingly practised in all other charters of like nature) 'tis not possible to establish that perfect settlement wee so much desire, untill these things are better understood. In the mean time, wee doubt not but the bearers hereof, who have demeaned themselves, during their attendance, with good care and discretion, will, from their owne observations, acquaint you with many important things which may be [520] of such use and advertisement to you that we might well hope to be prevented, by your applications, in what is expected or desired by us, so much it is your interest to propose and intercede for the same; for we are graciously inclined to have all past errors and mistakes forgotten, and that your condition might be so amended as that neither your settlement, or the minds of our good subjects there, should be lyable to be shaken and disquieted upon every complaint. Wee have heard, with satisfaction, of the great readines wherewith our good subjects there have lately offered themselves to the taking of the oath of allegiance, which is a clear manifestation to us that the unanswerable defect

¹⁵² See Massa. Hist. Vol. I. p. 13. H.

defect in that particular was but the fault of a very few in power, who for so longe a time obstructed what the charter and our expresse commands obliged them unto, as will appeare in our gracious letters of the 28th of June, in the fourteenth yeare of our reigne; and wee shall henceforth expect that there will be a suitable obedience in other particulars of the said letter, as namely, in respect of freedom and liberty of conscience, so as those that desire to serve God, in the way of the church of England, be not thereby made obnoxious or discountenanced from their sharing in the government, much lesse that they or any other of our good subjects (not being Papists) who do not agree in the congregationall way, be by law subjected to fines or forfeitures, or other incapacities, for the same; which is a severity to be the more wondered at, whenas liberty of conscience was made one principall motive for your first transportation into those parts; nor do wee think it fitt that any other distinction be observed in the making of freemen, than that they be men of competent estates, rateable at ten shillings,¹⁵³ according to the rules of the place, and that such, in their turnes, be also capable of the magistracy, and all lawes made voyd that obstruct the same. And because wee have not observed any fruits or advantage by the dispensation granted by us in our said letters [521] of June in the fourteenth year of our reign, whereby the number of assistants, settled by our charter to be eighteen, might be reduced unto the number of tenn, our will and pleasure is, that the ancient number of eighteen be henceforth observed, according to the letter of the charter. And our further will and pleasure is, that all persons coming to any priveledge, trust, or office in that colony, be first enjoyned to take the oath of allegiance, and that all the military commissions as well as the proceedings of justice may run in
our

¹⁵³ They seem to have held out till the last in refusing to admit any to be freemen who were not, either church members or who did not, at least, obtain a certificate from the minister of the town that they were orthodox, of good lives, &c. H.

our royall name. Wee are informed that you have lately made some good provision for observing the acts of trade and navigation, which is well pleasing unto us.¹⁵⁴ And as wee doubt not and do expect that you will abolish all lawes that are repugnant to and inconsistent with the lawes of trade with us, Wee have appointed our trusty and wellbeloved subject Edward Randolph, Esq; to be our collector, surveyor and searcher, not only for that colony, but for all other our colonies in New England, constituting him, by the broad seal of this our kingdome, to the said employments, and therefore recommending him to your help and assistance in all things that may be requisite in the discharge of his trust.

There is one thing which wee cannot omit to let you know wee are surprized at, which is, that during the time wee had the complaints of Mr. Gorges under our consideration, you should presume, without asking our royall permission, to purchase his interest in the province of Maine, the truth whereof is but lately owned by your said agents, when almost at the same time wee come to heare of some effects of a severe hand layd by you on our subjects there in consequence thereof. And whereas your agents declare you have payd to Mr. Gorges the sume of twelve hundred pounds for the said province, wee do expect, that upon our reimbursement of what it shall appeare you have payd for the same, that there be a surrender of all deeds and writings thereof made into our hands, and that your future agents do bring them over, forasmuch [522] as wee were sometime in treaty for the said province and do disapprove what you have done therein. And as for that part of the province of New-Hampshire lying three miles northward of Merimack river, which was granted unto Mr. Mason, and whereof the government remains still vested in us, you are not to expect (according to the

¹⁵⁴ This is very extraordinary, for this provision was an act of the colony declaring that the acts of trade should be in force there. *Massa. Hist. Vol. I. p. 322. H.*

the desire of your agents) that the same should be annexed to your government, for wee have it under our consideration to establish such method there as may be of most benefit and satisfaction to the people of that place. And therefore our will and pleasure is, that you do recall all commissions granted by you for the governing within that province, which wee do hereby declare to be voyd, and do require that you do in all things for the future conforme yourselves unto the regulation which wee have taken in this behalfe. And so not doubting of your duty and obedience herein, wee bid you farewell. Given at our palace of Hampton-Court the 24th day of July 1679, and in the one and thirtieth year of our reigne.

By his Majesties command,
A. Coventry.

Copy of a Letter from King Charles II. to the
Governour and Council of the Massachusetts
Colony.

CHARLES R.

TRUSTY and well beloved, wee greet you well. When by our royall letters bearing date the 24th day of July in the one and thirtieth year of our reigne, we signified unto you our gracious inclination to have all past deeds forgotten, setting before you the meanes whereby you might deserve our pardon, and commanding your ready obedience to severall particulars therein contained, requiring, withall, a speedy compliance with the intimations of your duty given to your late agents, during their attendance here, all which wee esteeme essentiall to your quiet settlement and naturall obedience due unto us; wee then little thought that those
markes

markes of our grace and [523] favour should have found no better acceptance among you, but that, before all things, you should have given preference to the execution of all our commands, when after so many months we come to understand by a letter from you to one of our principall secretaries of state dated the 21st of May last, that very few of our directions had been pursued by your generall court, the further consideration of the remaining particulars having been put off upon insufficient pretences, and even wholly neglecting your appointment of other agents which were required to be sent over unto us within sixe months after the receipt of our said letters, with full instructions to attend our royall pleasure herein in relation to that our government. We have also received the petition of our trusty and well beloved Robert Mason, Esq; whose ancestors obtained divers grants and made large purchases of lands in NewEngland, humbly laying before us the state of his further pretensions to the propriety of soyle in a tract of land lying between Merrimack and Nahinkeke rivers, by virtue of a grant bearing date in the nineteeth yeare of the reigne of our royall grandfather, in the examination whereof the lords of our committee of forrain plantations had made such a progresse that the right of our subjects had been thereupon settled, without the humble intreaty of your said agents, and the consent of the said Robert Mason, that in regard of their suddaine departure and want of power in that behalfe, the determination thereof might be suspended untill the arrivall of other agents to be appointed according to the limitation of our aforesaid letters, as your agents were able to informe you. And although the vindication of our authority, and the demand of justice from one of our subjects, might have well induced to the most speedy meanes of redresse, by doing us and our subjects right; Wee have neverthelesse continued our royall clemency towards you and thought fitt to give you further opportunity of bearing evidence of your duty towards us; so as no
further

further occasion of complaint may be offered in respect of your behaviour. Wee doe therefore, by these our letters, strictly command and require you, [524] as you tender your allegiance unto us, and will deserve the effects of our grace and favour (which wee are enclyned to afford you) seriously to reflect upon our commands contained in our said letters, and other directions, at severall times, intimated unto your late agents, while they were yet attending our councill; and particularly wee doe hereby command you to send over, within three months after the receipt hereof, such other person or persons as you shall think fitt to choose, and that you give them sufficient instructions to attend the regulation and settlement of that our government, and to answer your proceedings therein, and, that the matter of the complaints of the said Robert Mafon may be then determined, wee expect that your agent or agents be not only prepared to lay before us such evidences of right as you may have to the propriety of soyle in that tract of land claymed by him, but wee direct you also to make a publick signification of our pleasure unto all the inhabitants and tertennants thereof, that they doe furnish at the same time your said agents, or such others as they may depute, with the proofs of their respective titles to the land possessed by them, to the end they may be fully satisfised in our royall justice, that they have not binn prevented in the full improvement of their lawfull defence, which wee hereby direct them to make before us in councill. Such is the care and tenderneffe that wee will alwayes continue towards you and other our subjects, by removing those difficulties and mistakes that have arisen by the execution of the powers of your charter at such a distance from us, which by the first intendment and present constitution thereof (as by the charter appears) has its naturall seate and immediate direction within our kingdome of England, and that the due observance of all our commands above-mentioned may not be any longer protracted, wee require you, upon the receipt hereof,

hereof, forthwith to call a generall court, and therein to read these our letters and provide for our speedy sattisfaction; in default whereof, wee shall take the most effectual meanes to procure the same. And so wee bid you farewell. [525]
 Given at our court at Newmarket, the 30th of September 1680, in the two and thirtieth year of our reign.

By his Majesties command,

The superscription was,
 To our trusty and wellbeloved
 the governor and magistrates
 of the Massachusets colony in
 New England, now and for
 the time being.

Sunderland.

That this is a true copie taken and compared with the
 originall on file, attests Edw. Rawson, Secr.

Copy of Mr. Randolph's Representation of the Bostoners, 1680.

To the Kings most excellent Majesty,
 The humble representation of Edw. Randolph,
 Humbly sheweth,

THAT your Majesty was graciously pleased, in March 1675-6, to intrust him with your royal letters to the governor of Boston in New-England, and also commanded him, upon severall queries, to informe your Majesty of the present state of that government.

In all humble obedience to your Majestyes royall command, he hath reduced his information to these following heads, viz.

1. That

1. That the Bostoners have no right either to land or government in any part of New-England, but are usurpers, the inhabitants yielding obedience unto a supposition only of a royal grant from his late Majesty.
2. They have formed themselves into a commonwealth, denying any appeals to England, contrary to other plantations, do not take the oath of allegiance.
3. They have protected the murderers of your royal father, in contempt of your Majestyes proclamation of the 6th June 1660, and your letter of 28th June 1662.
- [526] 4. They coyne money of their owne imprints.
5. They put your Majestyes subjects to death for religion.
6. In 1665, they did voyalantly oppose your Majestyes commissioners in the settlement of New-Hampshire. In the year 1666, by armed force, turned out your Majestyes justices of peace in the province of Maine in opposition to your Majestyes authority and declaration 10th April 1666.
7. They impose an oath of fidelity upon those that inhabit within their territories to be true and faithful to their government.
8. They violate all the acts of trade and navigation, by which they have ingrossed the greatest part of the West India trade, whereby your Majesty is damnified in the customes £.100000 yearly, and the kingdom much more.

All which he is ready to prove.

Copy¹⁵⁵ of Edward Randolph's Articles of high Misdemeanor exhibited against the General Court sitting 15th February 1681.¹⁵⁶

Articles of high misdemeanour exhibited against a faction in the generall court, sitting in Boston, 15 Feb. 81. viz. against Tho. Danforth, Dan. Gookin, Mr. Saltonstall, Sam. Nowell, Mr. Richards, Mr. Davy, Mr. Gidney, Mr. Appleton, magistrates. And against John Fisher, Elisha Cook, Tho. Brattle, Anthony Stodder, Bathurst, Hathorn, Wait, Johnson, Hutchinson, Sprague, Oakes, Holbrook, Cushion, Hammond, Pike, deputys &c. By Edward Randolph, collector, &c. of his Majesties customs in New-England.

I. **T**HAT the said faction, the governor not consenting thereto, have refused to publish his Majesties proclamation of the 24th of November in the 32d year of his reign, sent by his Majesties special command, and received by this government in October 1680, which enforceth the act made in 25th year of his Majesties reign.

[527] II. The said faction have refused to declare and admit of his Majesties letters pattents bearing date at Westminster 15th October, in the 33d year of his reign, erecting an office of collector, &c. of his Majesties customs in New-England, and of the powers granted to his Majesties officer by the same, tho' often pressed thereunto, in the generall court, by the governour, Major Dudley and severall of the magistrates of the colony.

III. The said faction have refused to pay me severall summes of money which I was forced to deposit in court before I could proceed to triall of causes relating to his Majesty's

¹⁵⁵ This copy is in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Palfrey, iii, 354, says that Hutchinson copies a transcript in the Mass. Archives. W.

¹⁵⁶ Mass. Hist. Vol. I, p. 335. H.

jeſty's concerns, by virtue of an order of court made October 1. 1681, no law of this colony directing the ſame, though by his Maſteſty's royall letters of Octob. 21. 1681, they are particularly required thereunto.

IV. The ſaid faction, under pretence of ſatisfaction of his Maſteſty and regulating the trade of this colony, in oppoſition to the ſaid officer of collector of his Maſteſty's cuſtoms, have confirmed the place and powers of the collector of the cuſtoms and impoſts laid upon wines and ſtrong waters imported into their colony, ſet up by a law made in their colony in 1645, their preſent navall officer, having been chiefe collector of theſe duties above a yeare before this navall office was ordered, as by their law, navall office, doth appear.

V. The ſaid faction continue to exerciſe the power of governor and court of aſſiſtants, which, through the inadvertency of former governors, the court of deputies have aſſumed, to heare, repeale and determine in civill cauſes, which, for want of education and being under no particular oath, they are uncapable to manage: ſo that by their numbers outvoting the governor and court of aſſiſtants, his Maſteſty's ſubjects greatly ſuffer in their eſtates, and beſides, there is no ſuch power granted them in their charter.

VI. The ſaid faction have neglected to repeale all laws of their colony contrary to the laws of England, though required thereunto by his Maſteſty's letters of 28th of Feb. 1662, and the obſervance thereof promiſed by their agents [528] at that time; and alſo by particular direction from the right honourable the Lords of the committee of trade and plantation to their late agents in 1678, by which meanes coining of money (acknowledged in their agents petition to his Maſteſty a great crime and miſdemeanor, who then craved his Maſteſty's pardon to the government for the ſame) is continued to this day, &c. Alſo their laws eccleſiaſtical continued, &c.

VII. The said faction have refused to admit of his Majesties letters pattents beating date at Westminster 19th of May in the 32d year of his Majesty's reign, granted to William Blathwait, Esq; erecting an office of surveyor and auditor generall of his Majesties revenues arising in America, and do appropriate to themselves the fines, forfeitures, &c. which appear by the said letters pattents to belong to his Majesty, and they make the condition of all recognizances and penall bonds payable to the treasurer and not to the King.

Copy of a Letter from the General Court to Sir Lyonell¹⁵⁷ Jenkins, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.

Right honorable,

HIS Majesties great goodnes and favour in giving us a farther opportunity to attend him in the affaires of this his colonie expressed in his gracious letter of

wee with most humble thankfulnes acknowledge. And that wee may not be reflected upon as those that make very unsuitable returns thereunto, wee have taken the boldnes to trouble your honour with the following account of our proceedings; whereby wee hope soe great an infelicity may be prevented, and which though it may seeme late, yet is by the first from hence, except one ready to faile, when his Majesties commands were received by us.

[529] Upon the receipt of his Majesties said letter (though at a season, in regard of the extremity of the cold and snow, very difficult for the members, especially those remote, to assemble in) the governour forthwith summoned a general court; which being met January 4th and his Majesties letter communicated

¹⁵⁷ Palfrey, iii, 335, says his Christian name was Leoline or Lluclyn. W.

communicated with all duty and regard, the contents thereof were taken into serious consideration.

And, in the first place, wee applyed ourselves to the choise of agents that they might have timely notice and, accordingly, so prepare themselves for that service as to be ready to imbarque upon the first opportunity.

Wee considered of instructions for them, wee carefully perused our whole booke of lawes, pursuant to the exceptions made to some of them by Mr. Attorney and Solicitor generall when our late agents were attending his Majestie and their information given us, since their returne home, wherein wee have made a considerable progresse towards a conclusion.

But so it is, right honourable, that wee find it no easy matter, to prevail with persons, in any degree qualified, to undertake such a voyage at this time; and though severall elections have been made, wee have not as yet obtain'd the consent of any.

The present calamity of others of this country, now slaves in Algier (and one of them an agent from one of his Majesties colonies¹⁵⁸ here) not yet ransomed, does greatly discourage, especially such as live in good credit and condition.

And truly, Sir, should persons under such a character be taken, wee have cause to beleeve their ransome would be so high as that it would be hard for us to procure it amongst a poore people yet labouring under the burthen of the arreares of our late warre with the Indians and other extraordinary charges not yet defrayed.

Sir, Wee doe not urge this as that which hath kept us from our duty, but only as an inconvenience that meets us in the discharge of it.

Wee doe not take ourselves to be disobliged; wee have
not

¹⁵⁸ This was William Harris, of Providence. He was captured in January, 1679, by an Algerine corsair, and sold in Barbary. He was ransomed at a high rate, after a year's slavery, and reaching London in 1680, died in a very short time. W.

not departed from our resolutions : But hope the pre-[530]mises considered (without mentioning other ill circumstances which wee are attended with in this affaire) that the lapse of time will not be reflected upon as proceeding from the want of loyalty and allegiance in us, which wee humbly professe that wee will always beare to his most sacred Majestie : And will the rather hope for his Majesties pardon herein, for that we understand his Majesties time is yet taken up in those weighty affairs (especially relating to the horrid and execrable popish plot) which were the chiefe occasion of his dismissal of our former agents. So that we have ground to feare that our attendance at present may be troublesome to his Majestie and unprofitable to ourselves.

Right honourable, Wee humbly pray that this our addressse may be accepted and taken in good part by your honour, and that you will please to favour us, his Majesties most dutifull and obedient subjects, with the representation of our present condition herein contained ; that we may not incurre his Majesties displeasure, nor be thought regardlesse of his commands, whereunto we have been assembled in general court, endeavouring to give evidence of our obedience.

Herein you will forever oblige to pray for your happines.

Dated in Boston in New-
England, 3d June 1681.

Right Honourable,
Your most humble servants.

And was directed,

To the Right Honourable Sir Lyonell Jenkins,
one of his Majestyes principal Secretaries of State.
These humbly present.

Agreed by the committee, that this letter be directed to
Sir Lionel Jenkins, one of his Majesties principall secretaries of state.

The

The deputies doe approve of this returne desiring our
honnoured magistrates to consent unto it.

Richard Sprague, per order.

3 June 81. Consented to by the magistrates,
Edw. Rawson, Secretary.

[531] Copy of a Letter from Edward Randolph to the
Bishop of London.

My Lord,

IN my attendance on your Lordship, I often exprest that
some able ministers might bee appoynted to performe
the offices of the church with us. The maine obstacle was,
how they should be mainetayned. I did formerly, and doe
now propose, that a part of that money sent over hither and
pretended to bee expended amongst the Indians, may be or-
dered to goe towards that charge. I am told by credible
persons that there is nigh two thousand pounds of that
money put out to interest in this country, I know two hun-
dred hath bin for many yeeres in the hands of Mr. Rawson,
their secretary, who is now pressed for to pay the money, to
his utter ruin. Necessity, and not duty, hath obliged this
government to send over two agents to England; they are
like to the two consuls of Rome, Cesar and Bibulus. Ma-
jor Dudley is a great opposer of the faction heere, against
which I have now articulated to his Majesty, who, if he finds
things resolutely mannaged, will cringe and bow to any
thing; he hath his fortune to make in the world, and if his
Majesty, upon alteration of the government, make him
captain of the castle of Boston and the forts in the colloney,
his Majesty will gaine a popular man and obleidge the better
party.

But if, whatever I have said and proved against, and even
confessed

confessed by their former agents, their money raised upon the miserable inhabitants shall still prove a prevailing argument, and the agents be dismissed before every matter concluded in England bee certified to bee duly and punctually observed heere, you will render them more capable to oppose his Majestyes authority.

I have reason, from such great pressing reasons to pay in this 200*l.* to believe that this money is a banke layd up heere upon mannaging some publick designe. There was [532] a great difference betwixt the old church and the members of the new church, about baptisme and their members joyning in full communion with either church; this was soe high that there was imprisoning of parties and great disturbances, but now, heereing of my propofals for ministers to be sent over, for they have very good correspondancy with some of the clarks of the councell, they are now joyned together, about a fortnight ago, and pray to God to confound the devices of all who disturbe their peace and liberties. I have made it an article against them, for not repealing their lawes ecclesiasticall, and sent in my papers to Mr. Blackworth a large account of their latter transactions, to which I humbly beseech your Lordship to be referred and to be present at the committys making a party against their great friend L. P. S. who cannot withstand their weighty arguments. They have bin this 3 yeeres raising money for this expedition, their last agents expended above 4000*l.* in in their agency, the poore people must pay all, for by their law neither magistrates, ministers or any publick officers are charged with any publick rate. These agents have certaynly one great advantage by my absence, haveing liberty to say what they please; but I thinke I have so cleerly layd downe the matter of fact, sent over their lawes and orders to confirme what I have wrote, that they cannot deny them; however, if commanded, I will readily pass the seas to attend at Whitehall, especially if Danford, Goggin and Newell, majeftrates, and

and Cooke, Hutchinson and Fisher, members of their late generall court and great opposers of the honest governor and majestates, be sent for to appeare before his Majesty, till which time this country will always be a shame as well as inconvenientiency to the government at home. Your Lordship hath a great pledge for such ministers as your Lordship shall thinke convenient to send over, for their civell treatment, and I thinke no person fitter than Major Dudley, their agent, to accompany them, who will be very carefull to have them settled as ordered in England. He is one of the commissioners for the money sent over for [533] the converting the Indians; I give him two or three lines to recommend him to your Lordships favour, soe far as he may bee serviceable to the designe; as for Capt. Richards, he is one of the faction, a man of meane extraction,¹⁵⁹ coming over a poore servant, as most of the faction were at their first planting heere, but by extraordinary feats and coussinadge have gott them great estates in land, especially Danford, so that if his Majesty doe fine them sufficiently, and well if they escape soe, they can goe to worke for more. As for Mr. Richards, he ought to be kept very safe till all things tending to the quiett and regulation of this government be perfectly settled. I give your Lordship my humble thanks for the great present of excellent bookes. I have disposed of them to advantage and, with my wife, are cryed out upon as disturbers of the peace of the churches, for bringing in damnable bookes. We have in Boston one Mr. Willard, a minister, brother to Major Dudley,¹⁶⁰ he is a moderate man and baptizeth those who

¹⁵⁹ If by Capt. Richards the reference is to John Richards, this statement is clearly false. He was the son of Thomas R. of Dorchester, was a representative, speaker, assistant, counsellor, and judge. His wives, Elizabeth Hawkins, and Anne Winthrop. Two of his sisters married respectively Gov. Hinckley, and Gov. Bradford. His presumed brother, James R., of Hartford, was very wealthy, and both brothers used coat-armour. W.

¹⁶⁰ This was Rev. Samuel Willard; he and Dudley married daughters of Edward Tyng. W.

who are refused by the other churches, for which he is hated. My Lord, we heere the slaves in Algier are all to be redeemed, that I bouldly write itt that the settlement of this country and putting the government into the hands of honest gentlemen, some of which are already in the majestracys, and discountenancing utterly the faction, will be more gratefull to us, for now our consciences as well as our bodys are in captivity to servants and illiterate planters. My Lord, your goodnes and readines to serve his Majesty in the settlement of this great plantation, invites me, upon all occasions, to interpose your Lordships more weighty affayres, but since wee are heere immediately under your Lordships care, I with more freedome prefs for able and sober ministers, and wee will contribute largely to their maintenance, but one thing will mainly helpe, when no marriages heereafter shall be allowed lawfull but such as are made by the ministers of the church of England. I humbly crave your Lordships blessing and remaine

Your Lordships most obedient servant,

1682 May 29th.

Ed. Randolph.

[534] My Lord, I cannott forgett that the Lords of the committee for trade moved his Majesty to add to my fallery of 200*l.* a yeare, the yearely sume of one hundred more for my incuradgment. I have a great fammyly to mayntayne, have had great losses and expences about his Majesties service heere, all which, I hope, will be taken into consideration; for if his Majesty be now resolute, I question not, but without any further charge to his Majesty, the whole settlement of the country will be effected.

E. R.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Randolph to the Earl
of Clarendon.

Boston, June 14th, 1682.

Right honourable,

I Wrote your Lordship largely by Mr. Foy, which I hope is come to your Lordships hands. Our agents are sayled from hence about a fortnight ago. Wee heare, Maj. Dudley, one of them, is very sick of a feavor and not like to hold out the voyage, Mr. Richards, the other, one of Danforths faction and a great oppofer of the governor, will, upon Maj. Dudleys death, have an opportunity to say what he pleaseth, in defence of the severall misdemeanors objected against them and their faction.

They have been these 2 yeares rayfing money upon the poore inhabitants, to make friends at court, certainly they have some there, too nigh the councill chamber, otherwise they could not have coppies of my petition against their government, my articles of high misdemeanures against Danforth, and now of Mr. Cranfields instructions and negotiations in the province of New-Hampshire.

I heartily congratulate the happy returne of his Royall H. my gracious master, to Whitehall, the news whereof and of his Majesties bringing quo warrantos against severall charters in England, and of Mr. Cranfields being constituted [535] governor of New-Hampshire, puts the faction in a great perplexity; their generall court hath sett above a month, and made only the inclosed law, and appointed a fast throughout the government. I am confident, if his Majestie had bene pleased, at the same time he made Mr. Cranfield governor, to bring a Q. W. against their charter and made him governor of this collonie, they would thanckfully receive him, especially upon declaring liberty of conscience in matters of religion;

religion ; but so long as their charter remaines undisturbed, all his Majestie faith or commands signifies nothing here. The governor is very much troubled that the faction will not hearken to reason ; he endeavoured to have their navall office (sett up in opposition to my letters pattents) taken away this generall court, and have all the acts of parliament relating to trade declared and published, but the faction are resolved to doe nothing to oblige the governor or answer his Majesties expectations. His Majesties quo warranto against their charter and sending for Tho. Danforth, Sam Nowell, a late factious preacher and now a magistrate, and Dan. Fisher and Elisha Cooke, deputies, to attend and answer the articles of high misdemeanures I have now exhibited against them, in my papers sent Mr. Blaithwait per Capt. Foy, will make the whole faction tremble. I was very much threatned for my protest against their navall office, but it was at a time when they heard of troubles in England ; but, since, I am very easy, and they would be glad to heare no more of it. His Majestie commanded them to repay me the money they tooke from me by their arbitrary orders, which the faction would not heare of, I have therefore arrested Mr. Danforth for 10*l.* part of that money, and their treasurer, Mr. Russell, for 5*l.* due to me for a fine, and I am to have a tryall with them. I humbly beseech your Lordship that I may have consideration for all my losses and money laid out in prosecuting seizures here, in the year 1680. If I may not have it out of his Majesties treasury in England, that the heads of this faction here may be strictly prosecuted and fined for their treasons and misdemeanures, and my [536] money paid out of their fines. My Lord, I am at a great disadvantage, by reason of my distance from court, and in no condition to sollicite his Majesties concernes and the good and welfare of this colony, as formerly, I well remember, business with your Lordship, as with other Lords of the councill, sometimes intervenes, which hath occasioned not only

only delays but quite alters the face of things, especially when a committee of Lords meete, who are not acquainted with the whole series of this affaire : It is therefore my humble request to your Lordship, to move that 2 or 3 committyes may be appointed for this matter, when your Lordship, my Lord Hide, and Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, may be present, and the whole matter of fact examined and stated. I know the agents, at least one of them, will confesse what is charged upon their government, as their former agents did, in their petition to his Majestie, which is a standing evidence against them ; but if that be not sufficient ground to avoid their charter, together with the misdemeanors charged upon them, on which your Lordship hath the opinion of Sir Wm. Jones, if his Majestie please to direct Gov. Cranfield to examine the last articles against the faction, there will be reason not only to vacate their charter but to send over a prudent gentleman to be generall governor. If the party were so considerable as to revolt, upon his Majesties resolution to settle this plantation (as hath been sometime suggested) their first worke would be to call me to account, for endeavouring, openly, the alteration of their constitution, which by their law is death, but they dwindle away and are very much divided, magistrate against magistrate, the one hoping, the other fearing a change. My Lord, I have but one thing to reminde your Lordship, that nothing their agents can say or doe in England can be any ground for his Majestie to depend upon : Be pleased to remember, from the time your Lordships honorable father, the late Lord Chancellor, engaged with their agents, in 1662, who undertooke and assented to to every thinge his Lordship proposed for his Majesties honour and the benefit of his subjects here in-[537]habiting, nothing but open contempt, of all his Majesties commands, with small evasions and tricks, have followed, and worfe may be daily expected, if it be left to them to regulate the abuses complained of. My Lord, one unhappy (if not willfull) mistake

mistake hath very much promoted these mischiefs, his Majesty hath been represented to this people very low in his treasury, unable and unwilling to give them any disturbance, though never so much provoked to it, which is here believed, when to this day their contempts putt upon his Majesties commission and commissioners in 1664, his Majesty not calling them to account for refusing to send over Bellingham and Hathorne, when commanded upon their allegiance to attend at Whitehall by his Majesties letter of 1666, no not so much as the least notice taken of it in any of his Majesties letters at any time since to this government, and on the other hand, by a certain *deceptio visus*, these people have been represented to his Majesty as a very dutifull and loyall people, that they are a great people and can raise great forces, besides that they have been at vast charges and expences in subduing a wilderneffe and making a great country, without any charge or expence to the crown. Its true there are many loyall subjects here, but few of them in any places of trust. Their forces are very inconsiderable, more for shew than service. I will engage with 500 of his Majesties guards to drive them out of their country. And for their expences, I know very few now living, nor their children, who were at that charge. Mr. Dudley, one of the present agents, was one of the first planters and a gentleman, came over with a good estate, but the first adventurers are either all dead and their children drave out of all, by their fathers servants, or else so few and inconsiderable that no notice is taken of them; and as for all the persons joyned and concerned in the faction here, I know but one man who was not a servant or a servants son, who now governe their governor and the whole country.¹⁶¹ I beseech your Lord-[538]ship to pardon my long

¹⁶¹ This is a scandalous misrepresentation, unless he intended to save himself by supposing the governor and the whole country to be governed by a few, only,
of

long New-England discourse, and believe me, in all this, to aime at his Majesties honour and the good of this plantation, where, by his Majesties goodness and your Lordships favour, I am now become an inhabitant, and remaine

E. R.

My Lord, After your Lordship hath perused the enclosed, if any thinge occur therein which may be of service, whilst the affaires of this colony are transacting, be pleased to send it to Mr. Blaithwait, that the necessaries may be communicated, if required. In the inclosed law, they call the money coyned in this colony, New England coyne, engaging the whole plantation in the matter of their mint and thereby bespeaking the influence this small government would have over all the neighbouring colonies, but their ambition will shew itself upon all occasions; however, if they cannot conceale what they aime at, lying under such circumstances, they will take a time effectually to demonstrate what they have been for many yeares, designing, that is, the generall government over the whole plantation, which, indeed, is absolutely necessary on his Majesties behalfe, but not to be managed by them.

E. Randolph.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Edward Randolph to the
Lord Bishop of London.

Boston, July 14th 1682.

My Lord,

I Gave your Lordship the trouble of mine of 29th of May last, which I hope is long since received. Wee have advice

of those against whom he had just before exhibited articles of high misdemeanor. H.

It seems almost idle to add to Hutchinson's denial, but it is clear that this was only a random assertion in direct contradiction to Randolph's former statements.

The

vice by Capt. Barrett, now arrived from London, that your lordship hath remembered us, and sent over a minister with Mr. Cranfield, the very report hath given great satisfaction to many hundreds whose children are not baptised, and to as many who never, since they came out of England, received the sacrament. I wrote your [539] lordship of our two agents coming over to attend and receive his Majesties commands, they have large commissions to promise as much as any of their former agents, and have credit for large sums of money to purchase (if they can) what their promises cannot obtaine, but I hope nothing will be concluded upon, and they thereupon permitted to returne home, till his Majestie have full assurance from governor Cranfield that all things are here duly performed which are expected and commanded to be done in this collonie. But nothing will so effectually settle this government on a firme dependence upon the crowne as bringing a quo warranto against their charter, which will wholly disfinable many, now, great flicklers and promoters of the faction among us from acting further in a publick station, especially those against whom I have exhibited the inclosed articles sent in my last to Mr. Blathwait.

My Lord, I am at a great distance and so not able personally to attend and sollicite in this affaire as formerly, but in regard the matter is more easy to be effected, I thinke it unnecessary, yet in regard its absolutely necessary for his Majesties service and advantage to the crown to have the whole plantation settled upon the true basis of duty and allegiance, I had rather take a voyage to England, if commanded, to make out my allegations, than to have this matter passed over and hurst up upon bare pretences and promises. I confesse my particular businessse is to take care
of

The governing clique of the Colony seems to have been very tenacious of its hold on the administration of affairs, and recent investigations tend to show that the principal families belonged to the rank of gentry prior to their emigration from England. In this particular instance of Dudley, Randolph was grossly wrong, as he was not one of the first adventurers, but was born here in 1647. W.

of the trade of this country, I dayly expose myselfe to many hazards and troubles, but all I have done or can project is to little purpose, so long as this government (now sufficiently divided) which the lawes of England enjoyne to my aide and assistance, are parties and chiefe obstruckers of my designs, for till this government be thoroughly regulated, all that his Majestie commands will signify nothing. This independency in government claimed and daily practised by us is one chiefe occasion of the many mutinies and disturbances in other his Majesties forreigne plantations. If wee are misinformed concerning your lordship's sending [540] over a minister, be pleased to commiserate our condition, and send us over a sober discreet gentleman. Your lordship hath now good security, so long as their agents are in England, for his civill treatment by the contrary partie; he will be received by all honest men with hearty christian respects and kindness, and if his Majesties lawes (as none but fanaticks question) be of force with us, wee could raise a sufficient maintenance for divers ministers out of the estates of those whose treasons have forfeited them to his Majestie. I have wrote to the Earl of Clarendon, to Mr. secretary Jenkins, to remind them of the many small evasions and tricks putt upon his Majestie and the Lords of the councill by this inconsiderable faction, whose so long delayed punishment and reformation, invites and encourageth to greater contempts. I question not but your lordships unspotted loyalty to his Majestie, and charitie to us his dutifull subjects, will now engage your lordship timely and vigorously to assist, so to reduce this faction, as to put it absolutely out of their power to attempt the like for the future. Our ministers hope God will support them in all their extravagancies, and now we have a solemne fast ordered to intreate the Lord to give our agents favour in the eyes of the King, and with all they are to be concerned. Serjeant Maynard, his Majesties serjeant at law, hath made a present of eight chefts of books, now
Mm2 sent

sent over to the colledge at Cambridge, by Capt. Barrett, and consigned them to Capt. Richards, one of the agents sent to England. They are valued at above 400*l*. I finde his marrying Mr. Bantries neece will oblige him to stand up for the good old cause, and to assist the agents, who amongst other matters, are to represent me as an enemy to this government, and an open disturber of their peace. I heartily beg your lordships blessing, and remayne,

E. R.

[541] Copy of the Bill for Nomination of Magistrates.

Boston, 10th April 1683.

The Bill for nomination of Magistrates for the year ensuing.

Simon Bradstreet, Esq ;	1194	John Richards, Esq ;	1219
Tho. Danforth, Esq ;	1246	Samuell Nowell, Esq ;	1176
Daniel Gookin, Esq ;	1187	Will. Browne, Esq ;	0802
John Pyncheon, Esq ;	1212	James Russell, Esq ;	1187
Will. Stoughton, Esq ;	1172	John Hull, Esq ;	0910
Joseph Dudley, Esq ;	1226	Peter Tilton, Esq ;	1154
Peter Bulkely, Esq ;	1206	Barth. Gidney, Esq ;	1091
Nath. Saltonstall, Esq ;	1014	Sam. Appleton, Esq ;	1113
Hump. Davie, Esq ;	1183	Robeat Pike, Esq ;	1044
Capt. Daniel Fisher	583		
Mr. John Woodbridge	354		
Capt. John Wayte	354		
Lieut. William Johnson	333		
Lieut. Edm. Quinsey	247		
Mr. Elifha Cooke	230		
Capt. Elifha Hutchinson	128		
Capt. William Torrey	123		

To the Constable of

*

The

The twenty six persons above named had the most votes for magistrates or assistants for the yeare ensuing, who are therefore to be nominated, and they only, at the next court for elections, which you are timely to signify to the freemen of your town as the law directs. The number of votes for each person is added.

[542] Copy of a Letter from Mr. Edward Randolph
to Mr. Joseph Dudley.

Sir,

I Have yours of Sept. 10th by me and am now to give you the news of your charter being vacated, by judgment, for non-appearance. His Majesty has chosen Coll. Kerke,¹⁶² late governor of Tangier, to be your governor. He is a gentleman of very good resolution and, I believe, will not faile in any part of his duty to his Majesty nor be wanting to doe all good offices for your distracted colony, if, at last, they will hear what is reason and be governed. Here was sent over a most scandalous paper, preached, as tis said, by Mr. Moody and Mr. Mather; the Duke of Yorke hath a copy of it, and others have coppies also; twill doe your country great prejudice and put jealousies into the minde of the council here, as if the collony would not abide by the judgment against their charter, but stand up to defend their liberties. My business has been and shall be to ward off as much as I can. And if, by the iniquity and folly of your ministers and magistrates, you faile of what was expected, the whole blame will rest upon themselves. The King sent me over to Holland, to inquire after the irregular traders; 3 or
4 had

¹⁶² This was Col. Piercy Kirk, afterwards infamous for his proceedings in the West of England, after Monmouth's rebellion. He was appointed in November, 1684, but never seems to have assumed office. W.

4 had been there, and they were gone before my coming. I returned back a fortnight after judgment was given and would have been glad to have seen Sir Edmund Andrews in England, who is yet in Guernsey. I question not but you will have reports, as if a great fleet of ships, with regements of horse and foot, are coming against you, but I know of no such thing, only, I believe, a frigott or two will attend the governor, who is lieutenant of one of his Majesties regiments of guards and one of the bed chamber. I remember what you advise, that the government be, in the first place, transposed and committed to the care of fitting persons upon the place to prepare and accommodate affairs against the arrival of the governour. I am not wanting to press for liberty of conscience and confirmation of all your rights and possessions, and have nominated, according to what was [543] agreed betwixt you and myselfe, persons for the council, and disswade all I can from raising any rates upon the people to support government, more than what has been usual with you. The King has been pleased to make me secretary and register of New-England. I have nominated you for the King's receiver generall of all New-England, which will be a place of profit. I had other things to propose on your behalfe, but that must attend a farther opportunitie. Respects to the governor and his lady, madam Taylor, Mr. Stoughton, Mr. Bulkeley, Mr. Page and his lady, and all friends. Its yet very uncertain whether processe will issue out against Rhode Island and Connecticut collony to bring in both them before the governour come over, or to do that afterward in case they refuse to submit to a general governour, as yet nothing has been discovered of it. A committee of Lords but Saturday next is appointed for that busines. Dr. Cox is well and so is Mr. Boyl and all your friends, amongst whom I desire to be recorded, because I am Sir,

Your faithful friend,

and engaged servant, &c.

9th 11. 84. W. H.

Copy

Copy of the Bill for Nomination of Magistrates.

Boston, April the 13th, 1686,

Simon Bradstreet, Esq; 1144	Bartholmew Gedny, Esq; 387
Thomas Danforth, Esq; 1052	Samuel Appleton, Esq; 1129
Daniel Gookin, Esq; 1002	Robert Pyke, Esq; 1113
John Pynchon, Esq; 1097	Elisba Cooke, 1121
Wm. Stoughton, Esq; 656	Wm. Johnson, Esq; 872
Joseph Dudley, Esq; 619	John Hathorne, Esq; 983
Peter Bulkley, Esq; 475	Elisba Hutchinson, Esq; 978
Nath. Saltonstall, Esq; 852	Samuel Sewall, Esq; 868
Humphry Davie, Esq; 1127	Capt. John Smith, 619
John Richards, Esq; 896	Mr. Isaac Addington, 510
Samuel Nowell, Esq; 1203	Mr. Oliver Purchas, 507
James Russell, Esq; 1095	Capt. Daniel Pierce, 474
Peter Tilton, Esq; 1125	Capt. John Blackwell, 331
Mr. John Woodbridge,	325
Capt. John Phillips of Charlestown,	307
Lt. Tho Thurston of	207
Capt. Daniel Epes of Ipswich,	146
Mr. Sam. Partridge of Hadley,	176
Mr. Wm. Brown, sen. of Salem,	99

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Edward Randolph to the
Right Hon. the Lords of the Committee for Trade
and foreign Plantations.

July 28. 1686.

May it please your Lordships,

PURSUANT to his Majesties order in council of the
13th July 1685, directing Mr. Attourney Generall to
cause

cause writs of Quo Warranto to be brought against the charters of the colonys of Rhode Island and Connecticut in New England, I accordingly served these writts, tho' by a tedious passage of almost 6 months from London to this place, the time of their returne was lapsed. However the governor of Connecticut, upon my delivering the writt to him at Hartford, on 21st instant, has appointed a meeting of the generall courte of that colony to be called together to surrender their charter to his Majestie, if not perswaded by the factious people (who are unwilling to depend on his Majesties favour) to stand a triall, only to gain time and delay his Majesties sending over a generall. Upon my delivering the governor of R. Island the summons of the writt, he assembled the freemen, and they have drawne a petition and address to be forthwith humbly presented to his Majestie.

I intended, long before this time, humbly to lay before your Lordships a more early account of the present state of this government, but have forebore, to wait the effect his Majesties gracious commission and constitution of government, containing libertie of conscience, would have upon [545] the people of this colony, which, at my first arrivall, was received with all outward shew of satisfaction and a compliment of gratitude was returned his Majesty for that favour; but since, the proceeding of the governor and councill, whatever they write or pretend in their letters to their Lordships, are managed to the incouragement of the independant faction and utter discountenancing both the minister and these gentlemen and others who dare openly profess themselves to be of the church of England, not making any allowance for our minister, more than we rayse by contribution amongst ourselves. The frame of this government, only, is changed, for our independant ministers flourish, and expect to be advised with in publick affaires. I need no further arguments to confirme the truth hereof to your Lordship than to say, but two of the present members of the government, viz.
Mr.

Mr. Mason and myselfe, are members of the church of England, that of above 60 officers in the militia of the whole government, there are not above 2 captains, or 3 inferior officers, but are either church members or such as constantly frequent those meetings, which makes nonconformists from all places resort there. About 2 months agoe Mr Morton, an excommunicated minister, came hither from Nuington green; he was welcomed by our president and designed to be master-head of our colledge, but not daring to proceed, at first, by such large steps, he is called to be minister at Charlestowne, a very good liveing, and is ready at hand to be president of the colledge.

Two brothers, of the name of Baylie, great and daring nonconformists at Lymbrick in Ireland, have been here 2 yeares and well provided for. In the time of Monmouths rebellion, most part of the ministers animated the people, saying the time of their deliverance was at hand, and not one of them prayed for his Majestie, nor would give credit to his Majesties most gracious letter, signifying the overthrow of the rebels. I humbly propose, as greatly for the quiet and wellfare of this plantation of New-England, that no minister from England be permitted to [546] land without the licence of the generall governour, and that he have power or licence to refrain from preaching such as are already upon the place. From all which it will appear very necessary that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to send over to us a generall governour, to unite and settle this distracted country, and also to make good what is already begun in this colony, the delay whereof may be of evil consequence and give way for the factious people here to reassume the government, which they openly declare they have not parted withall, but expect an opportunity to be restored.

And as to the discharge of that trust reposed in me, I humbly represent to your Lordships, that under his Majesties authority the president takes great liberty to injoyne
upon

upon me in my station, and would not assist me to make a seizure of a vessel in the harbour, which my officers were not permitted to board. I am by all accounted the foule enemy of the country, having been for 11 yeares attending his Majesties command in this affaire, and by serving the writts upon the other colonies, my life may be made very uneasy, unless his Majesty shall be pleased graciously to recommend me to the care and protection of his generall governour, for whose speedy arrivall all good men heartily pray.

All which is humbly submitted,
by your Lordships most humble servant,
E. R.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Edward Randolph to Mr. Blathwait.

Boston, July 28th, 1686.

Sir,

INCLOSED is a letter sent some time since from the government of Road Island, they call it a surrender of their charter. I have since the receipt of it called on them in my way to Hartford in Connecticut, the governor tells [547] me they will pass a surrender in fuller termes under the seale of their colony, but are willing to have this sent. I was with the governor of Connecticut and delivered to him the quo woranto. I suppose they intend not to stand it out, our councill have sent Major Pincheon and Capt. Winthrop to Hartford to perswade them to accommodate the matter, so as they may be added to the government here; how farr that will prevaile I know not; they are sensible of Mr. Dudleyes encroachment on all and every side, and are unwilling to trust him, and are strongly invited to come under New Yorke,

Yorke, but it is more for the publick advantage to have that colony continued to us. Since my goeing to Hartford, the president has so contrived the matter that Capt. George has received above two hundred pounds mony which legally belongs to me who, as collector and informer, ought to be admitted to prosecute a ship laden with Scotch goods, but its all as Capt. George pleases, the president and he carry all as they please, to the greate dissatisfaction of the members of the councill, that now instead of meeting to do publick business, tis only to quarrell and that in such heats that I feare it will occasion the desolving this government. I am forced to moderate others passions (tho' I have most cause to complaine) and quietly to suffer my proffitts to be shared out amongst others till Sir Edmund Andros come over; he is longed for by all sober men who find themselves abused by the false president. Mr. Wharton is comeing over our agent, I have offered Mr. Mason at least to be joined with him, but I think I cannot gett it to pass.

There will I fear be an eruption betwixt the French of Nova Scotia and our people in Mayne and New Hampshire, occasioned by Capt. Palmer and Mr. West of New Yorke, who being at the fort of Pemmequid and haveing advice of a ship of Piscattaqua which landed wine at Ponopscutt belonging, as they say, to Nova Scotia, they by force went ashore and took of the wine: I referr you to the inclosed, a copie of Mr. Palmers letter: The governor of New-Yorke I am told has given them directions to [548] claim all the land as farr eastward as the River St. Croix. We have sent to all places to warne our people and to the fishermen, not venter upon their coasts, least they be surprized, and made to answer for damages done by strangers. Just now I have received a letter from my good friend Mr. Chaplin, who acquaints me of your happy recovery from a dangerous sickness, for which I returne hearty thancks to almighty God. Mr. Stoughton is inclined to the noncon-

formist ministers, yet stands right to his Majestyes interest. Mr. Usher is made a great criminall for informing against Moody and Allin, who are stirring up the people to rebellion, he is a just honest man, and will not see his Majestyes interest suffer. But we are over voted and cannot help our selves till Sir Edmund come to regulate the matter. Sir, I am under great difficultyes, and were it not for my ingagement in the busines of the masts, I would once more make a journey over, for I am treated by Mr. Dudley worse than by Mr. Danforth, yet all under the pretence of friendship, and is angry that I do not believe him. Honest Major Buckley is quite tyred out and can hardly be perswaded to come to Boston. This is our persent distracted condition. Wee have only patience and our friends assistance to depend upon in England for redress.

I remaine, Sir, &c.

Sir, I am informed that the land wheron the wine was landed have been allwayes deemed to belong to the French and was the very place formerly belonging to Sir Thomas Temple, and was delivered up to the French upon the articles of Breda by Capt. Wibourne, by his Majesty's speciall command, in exchange for the English plantation on St. Christophers and that done about the yeare 1667.

Sir, Some of the members of the councill are of opinion that since the constitution of this government is by a president and councill, who united are all but governor, that therefore they ought to have a proportionable share of the profit as well as the charge and burthen, haveing not one penny coming to them as members of the councill more then to any justice of the peace; some stay here five [549] or fix weeks together and neglect their own busines, and have no hing to defrey their ordinary charges, besides los of time, which they have desired me to represent and pray your opinion thereupon, as also whether the president is *virtute officij*

officij the ordinary to grant administrations and to allow the probate of wills, he producing no authority from his Majesties lords of the council, or from my lord of London.

Copy of a Letter¹⁶³ from Mr. Randolph to the Archbishop of Canterbury, 1686.

May it please your Grace,

I Have forborne riteing to your grace till I had been some time upon the place, to see how the poore people here would demean themselves under this new government. At my first arrivall I met with outward expressions of joy and satisfaction, and many seemed well pleased at the change, having been struck with a panicke feare upon the apprehention of Colonel Kurcks coming hither to be their governor; but finding a commission directed to a gentleman borne among themselves, the then governor and companie, growing hardie by their ministers, began to perswade Mr. Dudlie not to except of his Majesties commission to be president, hoping thereby to continue the government among themselves: But that faileing them, they adjourned the meeting of their generall assembly to the second of October next, and so broke up with hopes that either some unhappie accident in affairs of state at home, or by diffension raised by their artifices among the members in this new government, they might prevaile so far as to dissolve this new constitution and then reassume the government, which to accomplish they are sollicitouse. I take leave humbly to remind, that when your grace was present at a committee of the Lords and was therein pleased to move, that one of their meeting houses in [550] Boston should be ordered to be set apart for the exercise of the religion

¹⁶³ Palfrey, iii, 500, fixes the date of this letter as being July 7, that being Commencement Day referred to by the writer. W.

gion according to the church of England, it was then answered by some of those noble Lords who discoursed in their favour, provided they might have libertie of conscience in matters of religion, they would voluntarilie submit to have one of their three meeting houses to be disposed of by the president and councell, for that use. Since my arrivall with Mr. Ratcliffe, a sober man, recommended by my Lord of London to be our minister; who, besides his Lordships faire testimonials, brought with him a letter from the right honourable the Lords of the committee for trade and foraine plantations to the president and councell for their countenance and incouridgement in the discharge of his office; yet twas a long time before they tooke the least notice of him or his busines; at last, though strongly opposed, I got a little roome in their towne house, for such as were for the church of England to assemble in, but found it so strait that we are forced now to make use of the exchange for that purpose; where to humour the people our minister preaches twice a day and baptises all that come to him, some infants, some adults persons; we are now come to have praiers every Wednesday and Friday mornings on their exchange, and resolve not to be baffled by the great affronts; some calling our minister Baals priest, and some of their ministers, from the pulpit, calling our praiers leeks, garlick and trash. We have often moved for an honourable maintenance for oure minister; but they tell us those that hire him must maintaine him, as they maintaine their owne ministers, by contribution. Of a president and eighteen members of the councell, there is onely mysele, since Mr. Mafons departure for England, that is of the church of England, and twas never intended that that charge should be supported by mysele and some few others of oure communion.

I humbly represent to your grace, that the three meeting houses in Boston might pay twenty shillings a weeke, a piece, out of their contribution, towards the defraicing our church charges;
that

that sume being less per annum [551] than each of their ministers receive. We have yet necessitie for another minister to come over to us; for if any illness or indisposition happen to the present incumbent, we have no man heere to performe the office. I am not to forget to your grace the banke of monie in the hands of the corporation for evangelizing the Indians. Your grace was very desirous that that monie might be inquired after, and applied to build us a church and free schooll, that our youth might be no longer poysoned with the sedifious principles of this country: I am told that there is not less than two thousand pounds here, but adventure not to stir the least in it, having all redie brought upon my self so many enemise, and to all my crimes added this one as the greatest in bringing the letherdge and cerimonise of the church of the church of England to be observed amongst us, and this day is a commencement at our collidge, which your grace was pleased to honour with a present of of the learned Hamonds works, that rich man: They are all at present more taken up in puting in one Morton of Neventongreen, a rank independent, to be their president, than to shew any respect which is due to youre graceouse present, and I cannot expect it should be otherwise till his Majesty shall be pleased to send us a generall governor from England.

Thus much relating to these affaires of oure church, that of our state little differs; most part of our chiefe officers, as justices of the peace, &c. are congregationall men, and not above three church of England men; and not above three church of England officers in the militia; so that in the maine I can only assure your grace that the persons onely and not the government is changed.

Now from all this, after so many hazards and difficulties which I have gon throw in the prosecution of his Majesties service in New England, I am, by their malicious practises made very uneasie; and such persons who reape particular advantages by the change of government hate me for accomplishing

plishing it, and are makeing parties and factions to misrepresent me to his Majestie. Amongst [552] those many noble Lords of his Majesties most honourable previe counsell, who have all along countenanced and furthered my hartie designs to serve his Majestie, Sir, there eminently appeared for me.* I humblie pray, upon all occasions, the continuance of your graceouse favour, by which I shall be better inabled to attend his Majesties affairs heer committed to my care, and I shall remain in all dutie your graces.¹⁶⁴

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Randolph to the Archbishop
of Canterbury.

Boston in N. E. Octo. 27th 86.

May it please your Grace,

I Have some time since humbly represented to your grace a necessity of having a church built in Boston to receive those of the church of England. Wee have at present 400 persons who are daily frequenters of our church, and as many more would come over to us, but some being tradesmen, others of mechanick professions, are threatened by the congregationall men to be arrested by their creditors, or to be turned out of their work, if they offer to come to our church; under such discouragements wee lye at present, and are forced to address your grace for reliefe.

I have taken care to informe myselfe how the money sent over hither for the company of evangelizing Indeans in New England (for soe by their pattent from his late Majesty they are stiled) is disposed of here. Here are 7 persons, called commissioners or trustees, who have the sole manage of it; the chief of which are Mr. Dudley, our president, a man of

¹⁶⁴ This is a copy of one of Mr. Randolph's letters, and I suppose the bad orthography is owing to the transcriber, for the originals are, in that respect, not very exceptionable. H.

a base, servile and antimonarchicall principle, Mr. Stoughton, of the old leaven, Mr. Richards, a man not to be trusted in publique busines, Mr. Hinkley, governor of New Plimouth collony, a rigid independant, and others like to these. The poor Indians (those who [553] are called ministers) come and complaine to Mr. Ratcliffe, our minister, that they have nothing allowed them: We have spoken to the commissioners to have some allowance for them; all we can gett is the promise of a coarse coat against winter, and would not suffer Aaron, an Indian teacher, to have a bible with the common prayer in it, but took it away from him. This money is not less than 3 or 400*l.* which is yearly returned over hither (some say 600) with which they enrich themselves, yet charge it all as layd out among the poore Indians. I humbly presume to remind your grace of your promise to me, when in England, that a commission should be directed to some persons here, unconcerned, to audit and report their acts of this money. We want good schoolemasters, none being here allowed of but of ill principle, and, till there be provision made to rectifye the youth of this country, there is noe hopes that this people will prove loyall. The money now converted to private, or worse uses, will set up good and publick schooles and provide maintenance for our minister, who now lives upon a small contribution, and are yet forced to meet in the town-house.

I cannot omit to acquaint your grace, how tender con-
scienced, members of our old church, for soe they are distinguished from the other 2 churches in Boston, are. Not long since, I desired them to let their clerk toll their bell at 9 clock, Wednesdays and Fridays, for us to meet to go to prayers. Their men told me, in excuse for not doing it, that they had considered and found it intrenched on their liberty of conscience granted them by his Majestyes present commission, and could in noe wise assent to it. The necessity of a church and publick schooles and encouragement of ministers

nifters preffes me to give your grace this trouble, which I humbly intreat your grace to remember to effect, leaft the fmall beginnings of the church of England fettled here with great difficulty, fall to the ground and be loft, for want of tymely relief and countenance. All which is humbly fubmitted by

[554] Copy of a Letter from Mr. Randolph to Mr. Povey.

Boston, May 21st 1687.

Sir,

I Have with me your three letters of March the 7th, 11th and 7th April, by Mr. Maſon, for all which I heartily thank you, and for your particular direction in the ſeveral ſtages of my employ. I have very lately had the bonds of maſters of ſhips bound from hence to England in my cuſtody, and thoſe are indorſed that copys thereof are ſent for England; you ſhall not faile of the duplicates if this ſhip makes not too much ſpeed, and for the future you may expect them with my other accounts of the cuſtom-houſe; however I am to take it as a favour if I be permitted to ſend them directly to the cuſtom-houſe, in regard I have been cenſured for ſuffering my papers but to look firſt into the plantation office, and the premier, there now, objected hard againſt me. Pardon my digreſſion, you are ſenſible how much buſineſs I have lying upon me, to ſend accounts and duplicates from my cuſtom office. I am at 50*l.* a year charge to keep an able clerke. I cannot yet get any fees ſettled ſufficient to pay that charge, Mr. Stoughton, Mr. Wharton and others objecting that his Majeſties ſalary for 100*l.* a year is to defrey all that charge, ſo that I am a great loſer, beſides I am to have deputies in our ſeveral ports, and unleſs they allow fees

I

I am not capable of doing that service at a distance without deputies, and their not allowing moderate fees is only to discourage from inspecting their irregular trade. This his excellency has endeavoured to have rectified, but is opposed by my enemies, to my very great losse, and prejudice to my deputyes. Inclosed is such an account as I could get from Mr. Hooke, late treasurer in the province of Mayne. Mr. Danforth, tho' severall times putt upon it for an account, wholly declines it, and sayed he never received any money but it was all payd to Mr. Hooke, treasurer.

[555] His excellency tryed all wayes to bring the people to quitt rents. There were severall who would take grantes for lands, but as it now falls out, his excellency has none to dispose of ; a little time will trye what our new judges Dudley and Stoughton will say, when either Indian purchase or grantes from the generall court are questioned before them. Sir, you will much wonder to hear I have disposed of the secreтарыes office,¹⁶⁵ for too inconsiderable a vallue, whenas it was judged worth 5 or 600*l*. I lost mony considerable, during the time I had it, one part the president run away with, and it was not settled, tho' his excellency endeavoured it, but allwayes opposed, and whatever Mr. West can make of it, I could not get an able man to discharge it, but the whole trouble, care and charge lay upon me. I, sometime after his excellencies arrivall, was directed to prepare commissions, civill and military for the whole territory. I made 12 in parchment for the peace, 240 military, copied and engrossed in parchment all the lawes, and dispersed copies through the whole government, yet they scrupled to allow me for writing them, these matters have so discouraged me that I thought it better to have some certainty than to leave all loose, and know no end to the charge. I hope long ere this you have received the minutes since his excellency's arrivall,

¹⁶⁵ Palfrey, iii, 523, notes that Randolph had sold the office for £400. W.

rivall, since which nothing considerable has passed, only some laws about regulating cornfields and cattle, coopers and casks, they stick hard upon that of possession as of a generall concerne and, next to that, for a law for ministers maintenance, strongly opposed by the quakers. We have had but one meeting of the whole councill since passing those laws; that of the rates of pieces of eight does not answer the end, money grows very scarce and no trade to bring it in. The members of the councill of Rhoad Island and New Plimouth have enough of coming to sett in councill, 8 or 10 dayes a time, at their own charge, and I now expect but very thin appearance for the future, in regard the tables are downe, but to the great dissatisfaction of our brethren.

[556] Twill be for his Majestyes service to putt Mr. Shrimpton in the place of Captain Champernoon, and Mr. Lufcombe in the place of Mr. Jo. Sandford of Rhoad Island, both dead. Since Colonel Dongan had notice of his excellencies letter to the governor of Connecticott, he has sent his to tempt them to submit to New Yorke government, with assurance of the injoyment of their estates and properties, and that they shall all be continued in the government, with I know not what other great advantages. If Connecticott goe to New Yorke, it will certainly evince that collony and this government cannot subsist without a free trade with Connecticutt, which will be debarred if they are not annexed to us, or what's worfe for us, to pay 10 per cent. for all wheat, porke, &c. brought to us, which we cannot want.

Mr. Mason is very acceptable to his excellency and to many of us. — reports abroad that he has the better of Mr. Mason. Moody is out of humour, I believe he will be obliged to leave this town. I entreat you to send the inclosed as directed, and be assured that I am,

Sir, your most humble
obliged servant,

E. Randolph.

Sir,

Sir, You have herewith the duplicates of the laws sent by
Capt. Ware.

To John Povey, Esq ;

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Randolph to Mr. Povey.

Boston, Jan. 24. 1687.

Sir,

I Am much obliged to you for yours of the 22d of Sept. last, with the newes and copy of Sir Robert Holmes commision, all which I gratefully received from Capt. Leg, who arrived here the 10th inst. and delivered your letters, and packetts to his excellency our governor, who, being [557] in great sorrow for the losse of his good lady who dyed the 22d instant, desires me to present his humble service to Mr. Blathwayt and to yourselfe, and to excuse his not writing to you by this accidentall opportunity of a vessell going for Holland with logwood and must touch at some port in England.

By the severall Gazetts, filled with addressees, I find you are all at liberty at home, and I believe the court is so taken up with the weightier matters of state that there will be no room for my wife to addresse my petition for a confirmation of my office of secretary and sole register, &c. which I pray may be enlarged and extended to the limitts of the present government. I see no reason why I should resede in my desires of getting an understanding gentleman to come from home to engage in discharge of the secretary's and register's office, which is very beneficiall to West, no fees being as yet agreed upon, and I have ground to believe designedly done to discourage any to undertake that office, whilst, in the mean time, he extorts what fees he pleases, to the great oppression

pression of the people, and renders the present government grievous. I have wrote you of the want we have of two or three honest attorneys (if any such thing in nature) we have but two, one is Mr. West's creature, came with him from New-York, and drives all before him; he also takes extravagant fees, and for want of more the country cannot avoid coming to him, so that we had better be quite without them than not to have more. I have wrote Mr. Blathwait the great necessity of judges from England. I know there are some loyall gentlemen and able lawyers, who have not practice; the judges with us, being now 3, have 390*l.* betwixt them all, besides their fees, which they make very considerable to them: Now, two will serve our occasions. They ought to be of the councill, and their salaries made up 400*l.* a yeare, apeece, they will deserve it. As for Mr. Bulkley he is stupified and drown in melancholy, and almost uselesse, being seldom with us. I formerly wrote you about a fitt person to assist in my office. Be-[558]sides the losse I daily receive, Mr. West is cryed out upon by all; and whom Mr. Blathwayt or you should recommend will be acceptable. Capt. Nicholson tells me Mr. Martin who was to come over with Col. Kerke, is out of busines and believes he would accept of the office: I would have an honest gentleman, who will not be drawn to ill company, but will mind his busines: There are many about court, but now out of my mind. Pray, please to assist my wife in what may be for my interest.

Severall vessells are gone from hence to Bermodos, but are designed for the wreck. No news yet of Sir John Norburrow or Sir William Phips being there. We cannot yet agree upon the prizes of money: Some would have all peeces of 8, tho' of 15 pennyweight, go at 6*l.* New-England, others at 17; but they stand at 17½. Our money goes
all

all away and shall have little or none to supply ordinary occasions.

Since the governor's arrivall New Plimouth colony have great profit by whale killing: I believe they will have nigh 200 tons for to send to England, and will be one of our best returns, now beaver and peltry fayles us. I have a desire to see England once more, but I know not when I can get an opportunity, or my busines will allow of my absence, till I take leave of it, which I am not much disposed to think of till I hear all things are settled with you. I shall write you all our proceedings, as opportunity offers. Not further, but that I am, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

Edward Randolph.

Just now notice is come that
Will. Harris is arrived at
Piscataqua.

[559] Copy of a Letter from Mr. William Blaithwait
to Mr. Edward Randolph.

Whitehall, 10th of March, 1687-8.

Sir,

I Am to thank you for yours of the 23d of November, and would not faile to answer the chief particulars. If the union of all New England under one governor be acceptable on your side the water, what will the joining and annexing to the same government be of all the English territories in America, from Delaware Bay to Nova Scotia? This is already determined by his Majesty, and a commission constituting Sir Edmund Andros governor also of New York, as united to and parcel of his Majesties dominion of New-England. And for the two Jersies, scire facias's are expediting

ding towards their union. This, besides other advantages, will be terrible to the French and make them proceed with more caution than they have lately done.

I am obliged to you for your kind present of cranberries, acorns, chesnuts, &c. which came very well and are imparted to Mr. Robert Southwell. The little box of locust trees was broken open and they are lost, which was a pity, since they are so shady as you mention. I told the king of the black fox, who taking not much notice of it, I keep it myself, unless you think otherwise to dispose of it.

Care is already taken for the passing your patent for all New-England, and if Mr. Spragg were not in the way, it might have been for the whole new dominion.

Pray, present my humble service to Mr. Mason and let him know Mr. Povey gives him particular instructions by this ship how to proceed regularly. The governour needs not any order from hence to do justice. If Mr. Mason be aggrieved he may appeal.

My humble service likewise to Capt. Nicholson, who I hope may be the lieut. governour intended by the King [560] for the New-England. Nor let my service be forgot to my cousin Treffry, whose relations are all very well.

Since you are so mindfull of my concerns, the inclosed paper will shew you how the article for the auditors is to be worded. But pray remember the first accompt of the president and councill. It was sent back with severall queries, in order to the satisfying the lords commissioners of the treasury, and I expect your return of it. And you may do well to help Sir E. Andros to dispatch the first accompt since his arrivall, by setting forth every particular, how expended, more minutely than the parchment sent me does contain, that the lords of the treasury may not except against the method of it.

I send you the gazettes touching the pirates and Sir R. Holmes. The King has granted him all pirates goods for

3 years and the power of pardoning for one year. He offers fair to discoverers and such as surrender themselves, and will certainly make good his promise. An accident on that account may make you fortune, as you are most in the way of that sort of people.

I must not forget my humble service to all my other friends and acquaintance with you. Time and patience will stand you in great stead, amidst your disappointments and afflictions, and you will always find that I am most truly

Sir, Your faithfull friend
and humble servant,
William Blathwayt.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Povey to Mr. Randolph.

Whitehall, 18 March 1687-8.

Sir,

SINCE mine of the eighth instant, I can only let you know that your warrant for secretary of New-England, with Rhode-Island included, and Connecticut, had passed the King's hand, when it came further under con-[561]sideration how that of New-York and the Jerseys, which are now to be added in the general commission, might be included without wrong to the present settlement there; and I believe it will be agreed that your deputation to them shall be sufficient, so as he may receive the whole profits of it without any acknowledgement or charge, but in the mean time your warrant is stopt till the amendment or rather addition be agreed of; but you may expect to receive it at the same time the governor receives his commission, which will be sent by Foy.

On the 10th Mr. Blathwayt writt to you and sent you a memorandum touching his salary, of which I now send you a copy, and tho' I writ to you before upon this subject, the inclosed being as it is settled by himself, you will please to follow the method he prescribes.

We

We have no news, more than the enclosed proclamation for the recalling the Kings subjects out of the States service; and three new regiments are raising here.

I am, with much truth,

Sir, Your most faithful humble servant,

My humble service to Mr. Mafon,
Capt. Nicholson & Capt. Trefry.

J. Povey.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Randolph to Mr. Povey.

Boston, June 21. 1688.

Sir,

I Received your two letters of the 8th and 18th March, the first at Pemmequid, where, after a tedious passage in 5 or 6 boats and other water carriage, I overtook his excellency, being left behind at Boston, by sickness, about the end of April last. The Governor, with his servants, travelled by land to Piscataqua; Col. Mafon was visiting the militia in the province of Maine, and was forced to follow the Governor to Casco bay, where the Governor's sloop and barge with 10 oares attended their coming; he [562] went amongst all the islands in Casco bay, visited Mr. Wharton's possessions at Pejepsgut, and rowed up many leagues in Kennebeck river; from thence by easy motions, they got to Pemmequid, where he stayed 3 or 4 dayes to refresh themselves with sheep and soules, and then, with the Rose frigott, made towards Penobscott; his Excellency had sooner, by me before, appointed Capt. George to speake to Monsieur St. Casteen, and to acquaint him with his coming; the captain roade with his frigott before Casteen's doore, sent his lieut. ashore, Casteen spoake to him and told him, but upon notice of the Governor's coming, Casteen and all the company retired, left the place to that

and left his house shutt;
the

the Governor landed, with other gentlemen with him, and went into the house and found a small altar in the common roome, which altar, and some pictures and ordinary ornaments, they did not meddle with any thing belonging thereto, but tooke away all his armes, powder, shott, iron kettles and some trucking cloath and his chaires, all which were putt aboard the Rose and laid up in order to a condemnation of trading, in the forte at Pemmequid ; at their returne, notice being irregularly given to the Indian Sachem, neighbour to Casteen, that he should have all his goods restored if he would demand them at Pemmaquid and come under obedience to the King, it is supposed he went and acquainted the Governor at Port Royall of it, and how resented we were to expect by the returne of our fishing vessels. This Casteen is a Frenchman, has lived there many yeares, has 3 or 4 Indian wives and goes a hunting with the Indians, he has a trading house and sold the Indians, armes and ammunition in the late Indian wars ; he does not well like to be under the French government, desires to live indifferent. His Excellency carryed with him carpenters and boards, nailes and all necessary stores, intending to erect a forte at Ponopscutt, the old one, as they say, being gone to ruin, formerly made up with stone and turfe, but finding none there, was resolved to spare that charge till a more proper time offered, and in his Ex-[563]cellency's returne from Ponopscutt, 5 or 6 leagues off from thence, I meete the Governor at sea, I being bound to Ponopscutt, but I then returned with him to Pemmaquid. The Governor sent out, every way, messengers to summon in all the Indian Sachems ; such as were at Pemmaquid at his first arrivall, stayd his returne ; they were well treated with shirts, rumm and trucking cloath, but his Excellency, with a short speech, by an interpreter, acquainted them that they should not fear the French, that he would defend them, and ordered them to call home all their young men and they should live quietly and undisturbed. There I went to one

Shurt, town clarke of Pemmequid, to know what leases were made lately and by whom, and for what quitt rent; he told me that above 2 years agoe Capt. Palmer and Mr. West produced to them a commission from Col. Dongan, to dispose of all their land to whoever would take leases at 5*s*. the hundred acres quitt rent; they lett there and at a place called Dartmouth, 12 or 16 miles distant from Pemmequid, about 140 leases, some had 800 or 1000 acres, few less than 100, some but 3 or 4 acres, and all paid 2*l*. 10*s*. 0*d*. for passing their grantes of 100 acres of woodland with 20 acres of marsh, wherever it could be found; but this bred a great mischiefe amongst the people, few or none have their land measured or marked, they were in haste and gott what they could; they had their emissaries amongst the poore people and frightened them to take grantes, some came and complained to the Governor and prayed him to confirme their rights, which he refused to doe, the commission and whole proceeding being illegall, having notice they were to be under his government, they resented it, but it served their turne. The poor have been very much oppressed here, the forte run all to ruin and wants a greate deale to repaire it; the Governor has ordered it to be well repaired; it stands very well to command a very good bay and harbour about it, and will in time be a good place, being the only good porte for all vessels, eastward, to ride well and secure by the forte from danger. At this time, [564] Capt. Palmer and Mr. West laid out for themselves such large lotts, and Mr. Graham, tho' not there, had a child's portion, I think some have 8 or 10000 acres; I hear not of one penny rent coming in to the King from them who have their grants confirmed at Yorke, and this 5*s*. an hundred acres was only a sham upon the people. At our returne, we saw very good land at Winter harbour, enough to make large settlements for many people: The Governor will have it first measured and then surveyed, and then will dispose of it for settlements.

Mr.

Mr. Graham and his family are settled in Boston, he is made attourney generall and now the Governor is safe in his New Yorke confidents, all others being strangers to his councill. My cousen Mafon can make no progress in his business, he has attempted to try his title at Piscataqua, but has been delayed by the judges, and the inhabitants are far more obstinate than formerly, Mr. West having told some of them that his title is little worth. All Mr. West aims at is to have the passing grants for all Mr. Mafon's lands, and neither he nor Graham will allow that he has power to make a grant to any tennant; they are for leiving him out of all. The newes of the dissenters being indulged and taken into favour, at home, encouraged this people, and the judges will not give a cause for the King. They now dispute his Excellency's grants and plead either possession or Indian purchase in barr of it. The addition of New Yorke to this government does very much enlarge our bounds and may be of greate service to the crowne, but they have been squeezed dry by Colonell Dongan and his agents West and Graham, that there is little good to be done. We are in greate expectation of Foyes arrivall, and some preparations are making for a southarne expedition, but I believe Sir Edmund will not goe into New Yorke till Col. Dongan is removed off the place, there is no good understanding betwixt them, and twas not well done of Palmer and West to tear all in pieces that was settled and granted at Pemmequid by Sir Edmund, that was the scene where they placed and displaced at [565] pleasure, and were as arbitrary as the great Turke; some of the first settlers of that easterne country were denied grants of their own lands, whilst these men have given the improved lands amongst themselves, of which I suppose Mr. Hutchinson has complained.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Danforth to Mr. Nowell.

Cambridge, 22. 8. 88.

Hon. Sir,

THESE are only to returne you thanks for your kind letter dated July 3. 88. It was exceeding welcome to heare from you, and the good aspect that his Majestie hath towards his poor New-England subjects. I hope mine to your selfe, by Capt. Belcher, might come seasonably; only let me advise not to present any thing by way of complaint to his Majestie, for that I feare will do us more hurt than good; it may be of use to present to friends to shew the reason why we supplicate his Majestie for the confirmation of us in our possessions, and that he will grant us the same privileges that others of his plantations are not denyed, namely a generall assembly, without which our condition is little inferiour to absolute slavery. And for my own part, if that cant be obtained, I do not think the change of our governour will ease any thing, for the greater interest at court will add greatly to our burthens, and imboulden him that hath the power in his hand to squeeze to extremity. I entreat you wholly to conceale my name from those of our own people or others that you confer with, for it may do me much harm and no good to the publick. I shall think long till I hear the issue of matters.

Concerning those matters that I wrote to you about, referring to my selfe, I have received a letter from my sifter that gives mee account the time hath now passed so long [566] that the matter is hopeles to find out any thing, and therefore would not have you give yourself any trouble about it.

Mr. Peter Bulkley dyed about three months since, and verely his sun did set in a cloud.

It

It hath pleased God again to suffer the natives to do us mischief in July last, three or more persons killed at Quackeage on Connecticut river, one man at New-Haven, and sundry at the Eastward, some at Kenebeck and Cape Porpos, in all, about twenty six persons killed, so that all the out towns are driven into garrisons, and under great afflictment. Sir Edmund hath lately been at New York, and from thence to Albany, &c. thorow the country, was absent about 11 weeks, and, as I hear, will not allow it to be called a war, but murderous acts, and he will inquire the grounds; is not pleased that any soldiers were levied, in his absence, to send eastward, and hath released from prison Indians that were sent thence, i. e. from eastward. The winter is now upon us, but whether that will occasion the succession of mischief I know not, but people are generally much affrayd what will be the issue.

In case something be not obtained for settlement of property and restraining rigor in making orders, which they call lawe, and levying money, I fear what hath been done at court will exasperate and possibly may double the tale of brick. I am exceeding sensible that it is very difficult for our friends on the place to do much, unless God do in more than ordinary manner inspire the heart of his Majestie to favour us. Wee are in no capacity to do any thing, not so much as to pay what is of necessity to be done to officers, &c. in case his Majesties favour should be great, nor may wee meet in our severall towns to consider of any thing for our own good, at home or abroad, (as the enclosed copie of their order will shew you, an unheard of tyranny) so that should any disburse for us, I can't for my own part, see how it can possibly be gained to repay, and yet people are at present in great expectation that, so many of our friends being on the place, something will be gained.

[567] I had noe thought to have wrote now, and therefore
commending

commending all to God, with whom all things are possible,
with my kind salutes, I take leave, and am

Sir, Your affectionate friend

and servant,

T. D.

I againe beseech you to conceale
my name from all men, for you
well know how great an object
I am of their hatred.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Thomas Danforth to the
Rev. Mr. Increase Mather.

Cambridge in N. E. July 30th, 1689.

Rev. Sir,

YOUR loveing lines were with much joy received and read by me, for which I humbly blefs God, and return yourselfe many thanks. By reason of the great expectation of your sudden arrivall (with other of your friends) I did willingly omitt writeing unto you by the last opportunity, but now, considering the times are among those things reserved by God to his own dispose, I shall adventure the riske of a few lines, committing yourselfe and my endeavours herein to the good providence of God.

Its now 14 weeks since the revolution of the government here, the manner whereof, before these can reach you, will spread farr and neare; future consequences wee are ignorant of, yet wee know that, at present, wee are eased of those great oppreffions that wee groaned under, by the exercise of an arbitray and illegall commiffion, some briefe account whereof is contained in the declaration published the same day,¹⁶⁶ a coppie whereof I herewith send you. The busines

was

¹⁶⁶ This declaration is contained in Byfield's Account, which has been recently

was acted by the soldiers that came armed into Boston from all parts, to the great amazement of all beholders, being greatly animated by the Princes declarations,¹⁶⁷ which about that time came into the country, and [568] heightened by the oppressions of the governor, judges, and the most wicked extortion of their debauched officers. The ancient magistrates and elders, although they had strenuously advised to further waiting for orders from England, and discouraged any attempts of that nature so far as they had opportunity, yet were they now compelled to assist with their presence and counsellors for the prevention of bloodshed, which had most certainly been the issue if prudent counsellors had not been given to both parties. A coppie of that paper sent Sir Edm. Andros I have herewith sent you, upon which he forthwith came and surrendered himselfe. The same day, about 30 more of the principall persons of that knot were secured, whereof some were quickly released, and some yet remaine under restraint, Eight of whom, viz. Mr. Dudley, Sir Edmund, Mr. Randolph, Mr. West, Mr. Palmer, Mr. Graiham, Mr. Sherlock, Mr. Farwell, the representatives of the people, at their last sessions, voted unbailable. Mr. Dudley in a peculiar manner is the object of the peoples displeasure, even thorow out all the colonies where he hath sat judge, they deeply resent his correspondency with that wicked man Mr. Randolph for the overturning the government, and the manner of his procuring his presidentship, his extream covetousnes, getting to himself so many bags of money, to the ruining of trade, and since Sir Edmund's arrivall here, hath been his great instrument in the oppression of the people, choosung rather to do that base drudgerie then to displease,

and
cently republished. In fact, Byfield's letter is but a preface to this document. In the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society there is a copy of the original broadside, but it seems utterly impossible that it appeared on the day of the rising, unless it had been prepared in advance W..

¹⁶⁷ A copy of one of their broadsides is now in the possession of Mr. S. G. Drake. W.

and thereby endanger the losse of his honor and gaine. These and such like things have made him vile in the eyes of all generally both good and bad, so that the governor and councill, though they have done their uttermost to procure his enlargement, yet cant prevaile, but the people will have him in the jaile, and when he hath been by their order turned out, by force and tumult they fetch him in againe, and both he and the rest of them there remaine till released by orders from England. I am deeply sensible that we have a wolfe by the ears. This one thing being circumstanced [569] with much difficulty, the people will not permitt any enlargement, they having accused them of treason against their king and country; and those restrained, they, threaten at a high rate for being denyed an habeas corpus. I do therefore earnestly entreat of you to procure the best advice you can in this matter that, if possible, the good intents of the people and their loyalty to the crown of England may not turn to their prejudice. The example of England, the declarations put forth by the Prince of Orange, now our King, the alteration of the government in England making the arbitrary commission of Sir Edmund null and void in the law; these considerations, in conjunction with the great oppressions they lay under, were so far prevalent in the minds of all, that although some could not advise to the enterpirse, yet are hopefull that we shall not be greatly blamed, but shall have a pardon granted for any error the law will charge us with in this matter. The exercise of Sir Edmund's commission, so contrarie to the magna charta, is surely enough to call him to account by his superiours, and also Mr. Dudley that led the van in that tragedy; and for others of them, may we be quit of them, as we hope for no good from them, so we are farr from desiring to revenge our selves upon them, let what they may have met with be a warning to others how to essay to oppress their Majesties
good

good subjects any more in that kind. I crave an answer hereunto by the first opportunity.

I must also yet a little further acquaint you that sundry of those gentlemen and merchants that were very active in this matter on the day of the revolution yet, since, missing of what they expected the people universally crying up their charter priviledges and urging the old governor and magistrates to reassume the former government all which they were designed to oppose but had hopes to advance their private interests of which finding themselves now disappointed, are greatly discontented and speake highly against the representatives of the people and present government and, as we are informed, sundry of them, mostly [570] factors and strangers, have drawn a petition to the lords of the committee for forreign plantations, pretending loyalty and advance of revenue to the crown, and highly inveighing against the government and people, whereas, in truth, they are the transgressors of those acts for trade and navigation, and those whom they complain against are generally unconcerned in either, and so incapable to do the thing they accuse them of. If any thing of this nature be presented, let me intreat you sedulously to divert the mischief and send me a coppie thereof by the first opportunity.

Capt. George, commander of the Rose frigott, was also the same day with the rest of that knott seized, reports being spread by sundry of his men, that he intended for France, there to waite on the late King James, and before his departure to shew his spleen against Boston, so that the people were afraid of being murdered and burnt up in their beds, the lieutenant also a known papist. The sails of the frigott are brought on shore and secured till the government here receive their Majesty's order, for which deed its hoped we shall not receive blame. We do crave that the circumstances of our case and condition in all respects may be considered. Nature hath taught us selfe preservation : God commands it,

as being the rule of charity towards our neighbour: Our great remotenes from England denyes us the opportunity of direction and order from thence for the regulating ourselves in all imergencies, nor have we meanes to know the laws and customes of our nation: These things are our great disadvantage: We have alwayes endeavoured to approve ourselves loyall to the crown of England, and are well assured that none of our worst enemyes dare to tax us in that matter, and we have also laboured to attend the directions of our charter, under the security whereof were laid by our fathers the foundation of this his Majesties colony, and we are not without hopes but that before you do receive these lines we shall receive from their royall Majesties the confirmation of our charter, with such addition of privileges as may ad-[571]vance the revenue of the crown, and be an encouragement to their Majesties subjects here. In mean time we shall pray for the long and happie reign of their Majesties, and God's blessing to be on his people in all their three kingdoms.

Committing yourselfe and all your pious endeavours for the felicity of this part of God's church to the protection and blessing of God Almighty.

Dear Sir,

I am your friend and servant,

Tho. Danforth.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Randolph to the Governor of Barbados.

Goal in Boston, May 16. 89.

Sir,

BY a heady multitude possessed with jealousyes that our Governor, Sir Edmund Andros, was a Papist and intended to bring on the French and Indians to cut off the inhabitants, a generall insurrection was intended and so perfected on the 18th of Aprill last, that the Governor, hoping to

to secure himself in our fort, missed an opportunity of going aboard the *Rose* frigott, then at anchor in the harbour, and so, being overpowered, wee were taken prisoners of warr, as the silly multitude told us. This proceeded from a dayly expectation (that one Mather, one of their ministers in Boston, had raised by his letters to them from court in the height of popery) of a new charter. I know he or any other (having first subscribed to repealing their penall lawes and test) might for their money obtain fair promises of, and he had so far prevailed with Sir Thomas Powis, attorney generall, that he had obtained a report in their favour, upon many false suggestions, which, immediately on the P. of Orange his intending to visit the court of England vanished; however, he had no other engine to draw supplies of money from the dissatisfied party here, but to feed them up with assurances of a [572] new and much larger charter. They were impatient at his delay and, hearing the newes that all papists were either secured or fled out of England, and would not believe but Sir Edmund was a papist and his commission arbitrary and calculated onely for the suppressing all persons of a different a different perswasion; they caballed and accordingly executed their principall resolutions: They have not yet sent to England, expecting Mather, their Mahomett, or at least particular orders from court, which will not operate here unlesse consonant to their humours. We have, at this day, above 100 persons equally concerned as conservators of the peace, but their power signifies nothing, further than it pleases the people; sometymes they are for having their old magistrates reassume their former government; sometymes to form a new modell of government; but their being many more ready (and of necessity disposed) to pull down than build up, they know not what to be att: Some, that have estates and shipping abroad, feare they have done more than they can answer, believing other governments will treat them as revoltors from their allegiance, and give them neither protection

tection nor lett them depart till they have orders from home how to treat them. This you may please to communicate to the other governments leeward of you, to whom I have not an opportunity to write, who, I am well assured, will also highly resent it, and so will the present constitution at home, whoever be in the throne, and not suffer so high an indignity to be putt upon the most authentick authority any Prince can give his subjects for their security and protection, whilst they act by a power confirmed by the broad seal. God onely knows how affaires stand at home. I am confident they will never part with me, unlesse demanded, by a force or their ships stoped in the plantations till I am delivered up for their liberty and licence to trade. This country is poor, the exact execution of the acts of trade hath much impoverished them; all the blame lyes upon me, who first attacked and overthrew their charter, and was made the officer to continue their Egyp-[573]tian servitude, by my office of collector, &c. I intreat you to represent my state to the Earls of Clarendon and Rochester, by the first opportunity, and that the Governor and I may be sent for home by some frigotts. I must confesse there have been ill men from New-York, who have too much studded the disease of this people, and both in courts and counccills they have not been treated well. However, nothing done can amount to countenance such an open rebellion, and, were I in England, I must advise a generall pardon, many hundred of innocent persons being forced to act, otherwise to be imprisoned; and the kingdome of England cannot loose this country nor govern it without some respect and allowance to the weaknes of those who are mislead and the force of education and the byas of common prejudices: However, we are, at present, as much distracted and as far from cementing into any sort of government as at the building of Babell. God onely keeps them from destroying us.

You will have one Robert Glanvill from Salem, master of a ketch, he was imprisoned here, for an abettor of pyrates,
and

and was imprifoned with 7 pyrates, he can tell you their names; he brought into this country 3700 and odd Spanifh hides, robb'd from a Portugeffe veffell, the men thrown overboard, with other goods to the value of about 2000*l*. This is all proved by fufficient witneffes and they kept in goal till fome particular order from Sir Robert Holmes. About Oct. laft, he fent his commiffion to the Governor and myfelfe, dated to 26 Aug. 88. which we receiving not till November, and the Governor and I ftaying to the eaftward till the limite was paft, could not agree upon a method of proceeding againft them, in regard they flood upon their juftification, but rather, wee could not be affured of a jury that would find againft them, upon the moft evident prooffe, but now they are at liberty, have their goods, and perhaps may bring fome of the hides, or barrels of fmall barrs of copper to your ifland: However, I think the ketch is forfeited for bringing in the pyrates and their goods to this country, knowing the [574] men to be fuch, for Glanvill, in his ketch, fayled in company with the pyrates, in the veffell they tooke, as far as New England; he went to Salem, appointed to meet them at Port a Bear, in Nova Scotia, and did fo and carried them fupplies and provifions; when they burned the veffell and brought away the goods in this ketch and other veffels. This I heartily refer to your conduct and privacy, my life lying at ftake for the leaft difcovery. I cannot truft Mr. Rudger, father in law to Mr. Weft, with us, who has been a great inftrument in impofing upon this people.

Sir, I wifh you all happinefs and remain Sir your humble
fervant,

Ed. Randolph.

Copy¹⁶⁸ of a Letter from Mr. Randolph to Dr. Cook.

Common Goal, Nov. 25th,

Sir,

YOUR treating Sir Edmund Andros like a gentleman when you were last at the Castle, shall be remembered with respect. By letters from my friends in England I hear I am (but by what means I yet know not) made their Majesties prisoner and to be sent safe to Whitehall, 'twill be a favour to me and the rest of the gentlemen with me if the poor wounded man, who has lain 16 days rotting in his own excrement, might be taken and removed into some other warm place, that we be not infected with the vehement stench; and christianity directs that he be not suffered to perish and others with him for want of speedy redresse, twill be an aggravating circumstance of our imprisonment. If you please to call on me as you come this way and taste a glasse of cyder you shall be welcome. Be confident nothing shall render me otherwise than a hearty friend to all good men.

I am yours, Ed. Randolph.

[575] Copy of a Letter from the General Court to the Rev. Mr. Increase Mather in London.

Much honoured and dear Sir,

YOUR most worthy indefatigable and unwearied labour and service voluntarily undertaken for the good of this your country, attended with so much difficulty and hazard
to

¹⁶⁸ The reader will find by consulting the third volume of Palfrey's History of New England that he has made frequent use of the foregoing letters of Randolph. In addition he has consulted the manuscripts in the State Paper Office in London, the Massachusetts Records and other sources which add much to our knowledge of this portion of our history. It is probable that our Society will soon reprint a number of these valuable pamphlets and manuscripts. W.

to your person, as it bespeaks your ready obedience to the command of Christ in denying yourselfe, so it calls for our hearty acknowledgments and real testimonies of gratitude, and wee pray may be gloriously rewarded by the God of New-England. That you have not ere this hadan account of our affaires particularly directed unto your selfe, proceeded neither from forgetfullness nor neglect, but solely from our daily expectations of seeing you here, wee being so long time without any intelligence from England. Your providential deteinure behind our friends, who arrived about two months since, wee hope was in mercy, and will turn to our advantage. We understand there seem'd to be an absolute necessity of your appearance for us. Wee have thought it adviseable to send over our worthy friends Mr. Elisha Cooke and Mr. Thomas Oakes, (who are knowing and well acquainted with all transactions and the state of our affaires) whom wee have joyned in commission with the right hon. Sir Henry Ashurst, knt. and baronet and yourselfe, as our agents and representatives in England, or so many of you as shall be there resident; and given them instructions. The informations and evidences wee have gathered up against Sir Ed. Andross, and the others sent home with him, they bring with them, though they fall greatly short of what might have been procured had not wee been under the disadvantage of missing to finde Sir Edmunds papers at the time of the revolution, which we then supposed to be burnt, or otherwise made away with, and many of their actings in things that would make them most obnoxious, were so subtilly carried on as not to be committed to writing that might afterwards rise up against them. Wee expect no less than that they [576] will greatly asperse and calumniate this people, and endeavour to load them with all the infamy imaginable. Wee hope our friends, now sent, will be reasonably provided to take off the most of them, unto whom wee must refer you and to the papers. You will not wonder to see so great a number of that society of men come over, whom wee are glad

glad to get rid of, they having been industriously diligent to interrupt and disturb our publique affaires here to our no small disadvantage. Wee have endeavoured to make some provision by this conveyance for the discharge of our just debts in England, and refer it to yourselfe and others our friends joynd with you in commission, to make some suitable present unto such of those honourable gentlemen who have befriended and assisted our affaires at the court, unto divers of whom wee have written particularly, and sent the letters open, that so you might have the perusal of them. Wee have been necessitated, for the quiet of the people and preservation of the peace, to take the highest steps in administration of government, by trying, condemning and executing some notorious criminals, found guilty of piracies and murder, without doing which wee could not have lived, hoping for a favourable resentment and acceptance of what wee have done therein, and doubt not of your assistance thereto; praying the continuance of your care, paines and labour, to endeavour the full obtaining of all that good you have wished and industriously intended the procuring for us, if the Lord shall please to succeed therein; unto whose gracious guidance and protection wee heartily commend you, praying that God will mercifully, in his good time, returne you unto us, that wee may see your face againe with joy; and earnestly begging your constant remembrance of us at the throne of grace, that God may graciously guide and conduct us in all the arduous affaires under our hand, so as may be to his glory and our owne and this people's everlasting good and comforte, with the tenders of our unfeigned respects, wee subscribe,

Sir, Your most affectionate and
hearty friends,

Boston in New England,

Sim. Bradstreet, Gov.

29 January 1689.

in the name of the gen. court.



I N D E X.

A.

ABSTRACT of the Laws of New England, as proposed by John Cotton, 1636, presented to the General Court of Massachusetts, but never enacted as law, I, 181-205.

Acadie, subdued by the arms of Cromwell, 1654; provision for the maintenance of the English rule there, I, 286.

Adams, Thomas, one of the grantees in the Massachusetts charter, I, 5-12; named Assistant therein, 12; judgment rendered against him in the Court of King's Bench, 1636, on a writ of *quo warranto*, 117.

Addington, Isaac, nominated magistrate, II, 285.

Address of the General Court of Massachusetts to king Charles II, in 1660, II, 43-47; they ask protection in their civil and religious liberties. A second Address, not sent, 60-63. Address of same to Charles II, sent, 1662, with the agents, Bradstreet and Norton, 77, 78. Address of same to Charles II, sent over to the agents, Stoughton and Bulkley, in 1678. They have submitted to his majesty in the matter of Gorges and Mason, and the oath of allegiance and ask for the speedy return of the agents, 254-257.

Addy, Capt. Henry, II, 154.

Advice of the Elders [or ministers], 1660, concerning the Addressees to be sent to the king and parliament, to acknowledge allegiance to the king, and omit all notice of "past confusions," II, 50, 51. Advice of the ministers to the General Court, touching the civil constitution and laws of the colony. The charter to be always regarded as the basis of their civil administration. The charter recognizes two distinct estates in the government, magistrates and freemen; these two must concur in every judicial act, 166-171.

Agreement of Rev. Francis Higginson with the Massachusetts company, stipulations touching his outfit and support, and the care of his family after his decease, I, 26.

Agreement made at Cambridge, Eng., by Saltonstall, Winthrop, and others, to remove to New England, I, 27, 28.

Albany claimed by Massachusetts, II, 147.

Alcock, Doctor, his purchase of Block Island, II, 143.

- Aldersey, Samuel, one of the grantees in the Massachusetts charter, I, 5-12; named Assistant therein, 12.
- Alworth, Mr., sent back to England, as "unmeet to inhabit here," I, 60.
- Algerines capture and enslave several persons from New England, II, 269.
- Allen, Rev. James of Boston, II, 171; Rev. John, of Dedham, I, 257, II, 50; John, commander of ship Hopewell for Barbadoes, II, 154.
- Andros, Sir Edmund, appointed governor of New York, [here called *Andrews*], II, 174; writes to the governor and council of Massachusetts in derogation of their assertion that Philip had been supplied with ammunition from Albany, 209, 210; mentioned, 297, 299, 302, 307; death of his wife, 299; his proceedings at Pemaquid and at Castine's house, 304-307; visits New York and Albany, 309; is not pleased with the sending of soldiers against the Eastern Indians in his absence, *ibid*; releases Indian prisoners, *ibid*; is deposed and imprisoned, 311.
- Anglesey, earl of [formerly Mr. Annesley], Lord Privy Seal, II, 206; a friend of Massachusetts, 266.
- Answers [by Winthrop?] to objections against a removal to New England, I, 31-34.
- Answer of Governor Vane to Winthrop's "Defence of an Order of Court" He objects to giving to magistrates the power of excluding from the colony such as may wish to become inhabitants; this power not being granted by the charter nor by the word of God; the order gives without limitation to men, an authority which belongs only to God, I, 84-96. See Reply of Winthrop.
- Answer of Governor Winthrop to the Ipswich Protest. The Protest is unreasonable, disorderly, intermeddling and perhaps of dangerous consequence. It trenches on the governor's just prerogatives. In giving aid to La Tour we were not overstepping our proper line of duty: it was a matter properly belonging to us: La Tour was in distress, and we were only succoring the unfortunate. It was no act of hostility to D'Aubray. Even if we have committed an error, as it was with good intent, God will protect us. It is the practice of neutral governments, to connive at aid rendered by individuals to belligerents, I, 136-147.
- Answers of the ministry to certain questions propounded to them by the General Court in 1644, concerning the power of magistrates, I, 205-214.
- Answer of the Commissioners of the United Colonies to a letter from Edward Winslow, 1651, in reference to his doings as their agent in England. A collection had been taken in England, for the propagation of the Gospel in New England; may it be used for "enlarging the college at Cambridge?" The trade in gunpowder: the French, Dutch, and Swedes sell powder and guns to the Indians. Title of New Haven to land on the Delaware, I, 260-262.
- Answer of the Commissioners of the United Colonies to the Governor of Canada, 1651, declining to join in a war against the Mohawks, I, 269-272.
- Answer

Answer of the Commissioners of the United Colonies to the letter of the Society in England for Propagating the Gospel ; compensation of Mr. Eliot and Mr. Mayhew ; also for interpreters, schoolmasters, &c., catechisms and meeting houses for the Indians ; the annual accounts, &c., I, 290-292.

ANTINOMIAN CONTROVERSEY : I, 71-113. Petition in favor of Wheelwright, signed by most of the members of the church in Boston, 72-74. Governor Vane's endeavor to have this Petition read on the day of the Annual Election, prior to the choice of governor, &c., for the ensuing year, is frustrated by the firmness and energy of Winthrop, 71. "Liberty and the Weale Public reconciled : " the people's liberty was not infringed by the refusal to have the Petition read ; the proper business of the occasion being the choice of officers ; it was not in order to read the petition at the time it was offered : it would have been revolutionary and of ill consequence to transact any public affair at that time by a popular vote, 74-78. Winthrop's "Defence of an Order of Court," that none should be allowed to inhabit within the bounds of the colony without permission from the magistrates ; we have a right to exclude what is likely to harm us, and the proper judges of this are the magistrates, 79-83. Vane's Answer to this "Defence," see *Answer of Vane*, 84-96. Winthrop's Reply to Vane's "Answer," exposing various fallacies in the Answer, and maintaining that the charter gave the territory to certain persons by name, and to their associates, and that they have as much right to exclude unfit persons therefrom as a householder has to exclude unfit persons from his family, 96-113.

Appleton, Samuel, denounced by Randolph, II, 266 ; nominated as magistrate, 282, 285.

Application from Rhode Island to be admitted to the New England Confederacy, II, 255 ; the application rejected, 256.

Arnold, Benedict, sent by the Commissioners of the United Colonies to the Indians, I, 154.

Arnold, Stephen, I, 310.

Arnold, William, in a letter to Governor Endecott, 1651, represents that the people of Showomet [Warwick] and Providence are about sending Roger Williams to England to procure a charter, and wishes that measures may be taken to counteract the design ; makes an unfavorable representation of the people of those places, I, 267-269 ; writes to the General Court concerning the plans of Gorton in hostility to Massachusetts, 283 ; is mentioned in a letter from Roger Williams, 310.

Ashurst, Henry, a friend of Massachusetts, II, 42, 47, 66, 85 ; is requested to act as agent of the Colony, 1662, in case Bradstreet and Norton do not fail, 93-95.

Aspinwall, William, banished with Wheelwright, editor of Cotton's Code of Laws, I, 181, 182.

Atherton, Lieut. Humphrey, I, 168.

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BAKER, John, II, 101.

Ball, Rev. Mr., a friend of John Cotton, I, 65.

Balston, William, I, 254.

Baptists fined for absenting themselves from the public worship of God, as conducted by the "standing order; appealing to the Court of Assistants, and refusing to give security to prosecute their appeal, are committed to prison, II, 125-127.

Barker, Rev. Matthew, of London, II, 161.

Bathurst, Mr., a deputy, denounced by Randolph, II, 266.

Beatles, Mr., lends money to the government, II, 83.

Becx, John, agent for the Iron-Works Company, complains of Massachusetts, II, 41. [The name is there incorrectly given as *Reckes*. See Vinton Memorial, pp. 468-470.]

Bell, Thomas, a friend of Massachusetts in England, II, 85.

Bellingham, Richard, one of the patentees in the Charter of Massachusetts, I, 5-12; Deputy Governor, 308; Governor, II, 136, 138; writes to Willoughby, governor of Barbadoes, respecting a cargo of provisions sent thither for the supply of the king's fleet, 154, 155.

Bennet, Henry, earl of Arlington, II, 105.

Bennet, Richard, a constable of Boston, II, 138.

Berkeley, Sir William, governor of Virginia, writes to the "Governor of New England" about the recovery of some runaway servants, I, 152.

Bishop, Goodman, of Guilford, Ct., II, 53.

Blackwell, Capt. John, II, 285.

Blathwait, William, writes to Randolph, March, 1687-8, that the king intends to place all the English colonies, from Delaware to Nova Scotia, under Andros; Randolph to be secretary for all New England, II, 301-303.

Blighe, Thomas, I, 299.

Bonython, John, of Saco, a warrant issued to bring him to Boston, alive or dead, II, 152.

Boston, as described by the Royal Commissioners, in 1665, II, 149, 150; as described by Edward Randolph, in 1676, 222; commerce of, 231.

Bourne, Nehemiah, II, 85.

Bounds, Ambrose, of Casco, II, 124.

Boyle, Robert, President of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, II, 100; his kind offices for the colony, 182.

Boyle, Antipas, of Boston, lends money to the colony, II, 83.

Bradstreet, Simon, unites with Saltonstall and others, 1643, in a Remonstrance against affording aid to La Tour against D'Aubray, I, 129-134; writes, singly, to Winthrop, disclaiming any intention of giving offence thereby, 147-149; one of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, 292, 295, 303. II, 64; sent as agent of the colony to England, 1662, with Rev. John Norton, 65-93. See General Court. Popular in the colony, 236; nominated as a magistrate, 282, 285.

Brattle,

- Brattle, Capt. Thomas, popular in the colony, 236; denounced by Randolph, 266.
 Brenton, William, has a farm in Tiverton or Little Compton, II, 143.
 Brooks, Rev. Thomas, of London, II, 161.
 Browne, Edward, II, 1. See Giddings.
 Browne, John, one of the patentees in the Massachusetts charter, I, 5-12; assistant, 12; judgment given against him, 1636, in the Court of King's Bench, under a writ of *quo warranto*, 117.
 Browne, John, one of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, I, 153, 165, 167, 292, 295, 303.
 Browne, Kellam, one of the signers of the agreement at Cambridge, Eng., I, 28.
 Browne, Samuel, one of the patentees of the Massachusetts charter, I, 5-12.
 Browne, William, of Salem, nominated a magistrate, II, 282, 285.
 Bulkley, Peter, sent to England, with Stoughton, as agent for the colony, II, 255; nominated as magistrate, 282, 285; suffers great depression of spirits, 300; his death, 308.
 Burton, Thomas, a signer of the Remonstrance, 1646, with Robert Child and others, I, 233, 239. See Remonstrance.

C.

- CAMBRIDGE, Eng., Agreement made there, Aug. 1629, by Saltonstall, Winthrop, and others, to remove to New England, I, 27, 28.
 Carpenter, William of Patuxet, R. I., I, 310.
 Carr, Sir Robert, one of the Royal Commissioners in 1665, desires Leverett, Danforth, and Luther, the committee of the General Court of Massachusetts, not to molest those in New Hampshire who had petitioned the king for relief from the government of Mass., II, 125; summoned to answer for riotous conduct in Boston, 138.
 Caryl, Rev. Joseph of London, II, 161.
 Casco [afterwards Falmouth], its inhabitants petition the king, 1665, that they may not be placed under the Proprietary government of Gorges, II, 122-124.
 Casco Bay, described by the Royal Commissioners, II, 153.
 Castine, baron de, described, II, 305; visit of Andros to his place, 304, 305.
 Champersnoon, Francis, II, 236, 298.
 CHARLES II, king, his letter to Massachusetts, Feb., 1660-1. Their Address is acceptable, and they may expect his favor, II, 51, 52. His letter to the same, June 28, 1662, says that the Address of Massachusetts received per Bradstreet and Norton is "very acceptable;" he is satisfied with their expressions of loyalty; he "receives them into his gracious protection," and "hereby confirms the Patent and Charter heretofore granted to them, and is ready to renew the same;" he pardons all their offences against him, but excepts the persons attainted for high treason [the regicides]. He requires, nevertheless, that henceforth the oath of allegiance be taken by the colonists; that the administration of justice be in his name; that all laws in contravention

contravention of his authority be annulled ; that the free use of the English Liturgy be allowed ; that all persons of good and honest lives be admitted to the Lord's Supper according to the Prayer Book, and their children to Baptism ; and moreover "that all the freeholders of competent estates, not vicious in conversation, orthodox in religion (though of different persuasions concerning church-government)" be eligible to office, and entitled to vote in all elections, civil and military. No indulgence to be shown to Quakers, II, 100-104. In his letter to the inhabitants of Maine, June, 1664, he finds, from the report of his law-officers, that the claim of Ferdinando Gorges is valid, and commands the Province to be restored to him, 110-112. For his letter, dated Feb. 25, 1664-5, see Morrice. He writes, April 1678, to the Gov. and Council of Massachusetts, that he is highly displeased with their requiring an oath of fidelity to the country ; and commands them to give order for administering the oath of allegiance customary in England, 253-254. He writes, July 1679, to the same, on the return of the agents Stoughton and Bulkeley from England : These agents had demeaned themselves properly, but the Colony must send out other agents within six months ; in the mean time he requires that persons not Congregationalists be subject to no civil or religious disabilities, and incur no fines or forfeitures in consequence thereof ; that the number of Assistants be eighteen, according to the Charter ; and that the oath of allegiance be taken by all persons in office. He has appointed Edward Randolph to be "Collector, Surveyor, and Searcher" for all New England. He is displeased with the purchase of Maine from Gorges, and requires Massachusetts to relinquish the bargain on repayment of the purchase-money. Finally, he requires all commissions granted by Massachusetts and designed to operate in New Hampshire to be recalled, 257-261. His letter to the same, September, 1680, severely reprimands their past neglects to execute his behests ; requires them, within three months, to send over agents to attend to the regulation of their government, and to answer to the claims of Robert Mason to the territory between Naumkeag and Merrimack Rivers, 261-264. See *Morrice*.

Charlestown settled, I, 51.

Charter of Massachusetts, see Massachusetts — Colony Charter.

Chew, John, of Virginia, his runaway servants, I, 152.

Child, Robert, a signer of the Remonstrance in 1646, I, 223, 239. See Remonstrance.

Christmas, the keeping of it forbidden, II, 147.

Civil franchise in Massachusetts, as represented by the Royal Commissioners, 1665, II, 146.

Clap, Capt. Roger, commander of the Castle in 1676, II, 221.

Clarendon, earl of, letter of the General Court to, introducing their agents Bradstreet and Norton, II, 80.

Clarke, John, of Rhode Island, II, 26, 106, 131.

Clarke, Maj. Thomas, of Boston, a magistrate, II, 236.

Clayes,

- Clayes, John, of Casco, II, 124.
 Cleaver, Mr., a friend of John Cotton, I, 65.
 Cleaves, George, agent for Rigby, I, 307.
 Cleeves, George, of Casco, II, 124.
 Cleveland, Moses, II, 101.
 Cobbett, Mr., sent back to England, 1631, as "unmeet to inhabit here," I, 60.
 Cobbett, Rev. Thomas, of Ipswich, II, I, 3, 4, 18, 171. See Giddings.
 Cockayne (also Cockquaine), Rev. George, of London, II, 161, 252.
 Coddington, William, in a letter to Governor Winthrop, refers to a transaction between Robert Nash and Capt. Alexander Partridge, I, 253; requests that Rhode Island may be admitted to the New England Confederacy, 255.
 Colbron, William, a signer of the Cambridge Agreement to remove to New England, I, 28.
 Collier, William, an Assistant of Plymouth Colony, I, 173.
 Collins, Rev. John, of London, II, 161, an alumnus of Harvard College, acting as agent for the colony in England; writes to Governor Leverett, May, 1672, introducing and recommending Dr. Leonard Hoar, and soliciting the Governor's good offices in his behalf, 165. The allied English and French fleets ready for an encounter with the Dutch, *ibid.* Writes again to the same, April, 1674, referring to the discontent in England and Scotland, arising from the prorogation of Parliament and other causes. Death of Sir Thomas Temple; a bit of scandal respecting him, which he (Temple) firmly denied. Harvard College—its troubles; President Hoar, dissatisfaction with him; Collins denies that he recommended him for President; pecuniary matters, 173-177. He writes again, July, 1674, that a design is entertained at Court of purchasing New Hampshire and Maine to make an endowment for the Duke of Monmouth. Troubles in Scotland; the Court Party too much occupied at home to molest New England, 183, 184. In another letter to Gov. Leverett, March, 1674-5, Collins expresses great concern for Harvard College; hardly knows what judgment to form; is inclined to blame President Hoar; wishes to know if there is "a want of truth in his words;" refers to the design to buy Maine and New Hampshire for the duke of Monmouth; apprehends that the English government "design to call your patent to a strict account," and advises preparation for it. The Earl of Anglesey (Lord Privy Seal) is displeased with Massachusetts; Rushworth has for a long time been paid for services "not worth a rush;" advises to employ Maj. Robert Thomson; the king has revoked his Declaration of Indulgence, and the writer apprehends persecution, perhaps a prison, 204-209.
 Collins, Samuel, II, 208.
 Collison, Col., I, 301.
 Commerce of Massachusetts, as represented by the Royal Commissioners, II, 150.
 Commission of Major Edward Gibbons for the apprehended war with the Narragansetts, I, 167, 168.
 Commissioners of the king. See Royal Commissioners.

- Commissioners of the United Colonies, their Declaration of the "grounds and justice" of the apprehended war with the Narragansetts, in 1645, I, 153-164; refuse to admit Rhode Island into the Confederacy, 256; their instructions to Major Edward Gibbons, in regard to an expedition against the Narragansetts, 169-172; their answer to the Governor of Canada, 1651, declining to join the French in a war against the Mohawks; 269-272. Their instructions to Major Simon Willard, Sept. 1654, in reference to an expedition against the Nianticks, 292-295. They blame Major Willard, Sept. 1655, for not having acted with more energy; the expedition failed through his remissness, 302, 303. Their reply to Massachusetts colony respecting the support of gospel ministers, and respecting Quakers, &c., 318-320. They write to Peter Stuyvesant, "Dutch Governor at Manhattoes," Sept., 1659, for permission to a company of emigrants from Massachusetts to sail up Hudson river on their way to a new settlement, II, 36, 37. Their Declaration, warning all persons against harboring or secreting the regicides, Whalley and Goffe, 63, 64. See Answer of Commissioners.
- Connecticut Colony, as described by Edward Randolph, II, 239.
- Considerations, General, for the Plantation in New England, I, 29-34.
- Convention with D'Aubray, in Latin and in English, I, 164-167.
- Cooke, Elifha, denounced by Randolph, II, 266, 273; nominated as magistrate, 282, 285; thanked by Randolph for kindness to him in prison, 318.
- Corbin, Robert, of Casco, II, 124.
- Corporation in England for Propagating the Gospel, &c., their letter to the Commissioners of the United Colonies; they speak of complaints made by Rev. John Eliot [the apostle] I, 287-290. See Society for Propagating the Gospel.
- Cotton, Rev. John, his letter gives as his reasons for a removal to New England, his being forbidden to preach in England, and the ample opportunity for ministerial usefulness afforded in America. How are ministers of Christ to testify against corruptions in religion? I, 60-65. His Code of Laws proposed for New England, but not adopted, 181-205. His letter to Cromwell, July, 1651, approves the proceedings of Cromwell and of the army, 262-265; answers the letter of Sir Richard Saltonstall; defends the severe proceedings against Clarke, Holmes, and others; justifies compulsion to attend public worship; excuses rigorous measures when used to promote true religion; observes that some Antinomians and Anabaptists, of quiet behavior, are tolerated in the Colony, II, 129-134. Memoir of him by Rev. Samuel Whiting, of Lynn, commemorating his profound scholarship, his diligence in the ministry, his rare wisdom, and great usefulness, I, 273-280. His letter to Dr. John Williams, bishop of Lincoln, 1633, resigning his rectorship at Boston in Lincolnshire, and assigning the reason why, 280-282.
- Covenant with Ninegret, 1654, he promises to surrender the Pequot refugees in his country, I, 299.
- Coventry, Sir Henry, II, 241.

- Cradock, Matthew, one of the Patentees in the Massachusetts Charter, I, 5-12; first governor of the company, 12; judgment given against him, 1636, in the Court of King's Bench, under a writ of *quo warranto*, 117; mentioned, II, 250.
- Cromwell, Capt., I, 179.
- Cromwell, Oliver, his reply to the letter of Rev. John Cotton, Oct., 1651, refers to the overthrow of the Scots at Worcester, I, 266.
- Crown, Col. William, II, 43, 92.
- Cudworth, James, one of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, I, 303.
- Cullick, John, one of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, I, 303.
- Curwen, Capt. George, II, 236.
- Cushing, Mr., a deputy of the General Court, denounced by Randolph, II, 266.

D.

- DAND, John, a signer, with Child and others, of the Remonstrance in 1646, I, 223, 240. See Remonstrance.
- Danforth, Thomas, one of the Committee of the General Court for the dispatch of agents to England, II, 65-93; an assistant, 138, 236; denounced by Randolph, 266, 272, 273; nominated as a magistrate, 282, 285; writes to Nowell in England, Oct., 1688, advising him to present nothing by way of complaint to the king, as likely to do more harm than good, wishing his name not to be mentioned in any transaction; mentions Indian murders on the frontiers—a bad state of affairs; people afraid of the issue, 308-310. In a letter to Rev. Increase Mather, in England, July, 1689, he gives an account of the popular uprising in Bolton, the overthrow of Andros's government, the imprisonment of Andros and his minions; hopes those concerned in the affair will not be called to account for it, 310-314.
- Dartmouth [now Newcastle, Me.], visited by Palmer and West, II, 306.
- D'Aulnay, I, 127, 128, 129, 130, 132, 133, 137, 138, 139, 141, 142, 143. See La Tour, Ipswich Protest, Winthrop.
- Davenport, Rev. John, I, 273; affords shelter to the regicides, II, 53-54; writes from New Haven to Governor Leverett, June 24, 1665; rejoices in the resistance made by Massachusetts to the royal commissioners, whose aim was nothing less than the subversion of all the liberties of the colony and the overthrow of the government; advises that the evils occasioned by the visit of the commissioners be represented to the king, 117-121.
- Davis, John, a messenger sent, 1645, to Peffacus and Uncas, I, 154.
- Davis, Capt. William, II, 66, 83, 85, 139.
- Davy, Humphrey, denounced by Randolph, II, 266; nominated as magistrate, 282, 285.
- Deane, James, servant to Sir Robert Carr, II, 138.
- Declaration of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, Aug., 1645, concerning the transactions with the Narragansetts, and the justice of the war in which the Colonies were about to engage with that tribe, I, 153-164.

- Defence, by the elder Winthrop, of an Order of Court, excluding from the Colony all new comers, not approved by the magistrates. A community may exclude those who endanger its welfare, I, 79-83.
- Delaval, II, 201.
- Delaware, claims of New Haven to, I, 262.
- Dennison, Daniel, I, 292, 295, 303. II, 64, 237.
- Dervall, II, 201.
- Dexter, Thomas, sues John Endecott for battery, I, 56.
- Dod, Rev. John, an aged friend of Rev. John Cotton, I, 65.
- Doddridge, Mr., his donation to Harvard College, II, 179.
- Dongan, Col. Thomas, governor of New York, II, 298, 306, 307.
- Douglas, William, duke of Hamilton, claims part of Connecticut and all of Rhode Island, II, 141.
- Downing, Emanuel, brother-in-law of Winthrop, I, 66, 67.
- Downing, Sir George, agent for Charles II, at the Hague, II, 35.
- Dudley, Thomas, agrees to remove to New England, I, 28; refused, when Governor, to tolerate those of a different religion, II, 128.
- Dudley, Joseph, II, 236; Randolph speaks well of him, 273; nominated as a magistrate, 282, 285; imprisoned, 311; peculiarly obnoxious to the people, *ibid.*
- Dutch supply the Indians with fire-arms, I, 261, 271.
- Dutton, Thomas, II, 101.
- Dyer, 205.

E.

- E**ATON, Theophilus, one of the patentees in the Charter of Massachusetts, I, 5-12; an Assistant named therein, 12; judgment rendered against him in the Court of King's Bench, 1636, on a writ of *quo warranto*, 116; one of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, 153, 165, 167, 292, 295, 303; mentioned, 261.
- Elders, or ministers, their answers to certain questions proposed to them by the General Court in 1644, touching the powers of the magistrates, I, 205-214; their advice concerning addresses to be sent to king and parliament, II, 50. See Advice.
- Eliot, Rev. John [the apostle], complains of insufficient support in his work among the Indians, I, 288; his salary from the church in Roxbury and from other sources stated, 291; one of the elders who gave Advice to the General Court, II, 50.
- Endecott, John, one of the patentees in the Massachusetts Charter, I, 3-12; therein named Assistant, 12; writes to Governor Winthrop, April, 1631, respecting his affair with Thomas Dexter, and other matters, 55-57; writes to Winthrop about La Tour, June, 1643; La Tour should not be assisted, he is hostile to us, 127; writes again to the same, July, 1643, in terms of affectionate confidence; comforts him about "this French business," 134, 135. From another letter to the same, Dec. 1643, the authorities of Gloucester had complained

complained to Endecott that some ship-carpenters had been guilty of Sabbath breaking, swearing, and drunkenness. He states what he had done, and desires to know what the Governor would have done, 149, 150. Another letter, in Jan., 1643-4, proposes that the fort on Castle Island be repaired at the expense of the neighboring towns, 151. Again, July, 1646, having heard that D'Aubnay would send to Boston, he proposes a meeting of the Commissioners in regard to the relations of the Colony to him, 178; as Governor, signs an Address to Cromwell, 308; writes to John Leverett, then, 1657, agent of the Colony in England; Rhode Island affairs; Clarke and Holmes, II, 22, 26; writes again to Leverett, Oct. 1660, requesting him to help forward their address to king and parliament, 42; after much hesitation, signs the credentials of the agents to England, Simon Bradstreet and John Norton, 86.

Epes, Capt. Daniel, of Ipswich, II, 285.

Everden, Walter, from Kent, employed in the manufacture of gunpowder at Newport, II, 200.

F.

FARWELL, George, imprisoned in Boston as accessory to the oppressions of Andros, II, 311.

Fenn, Robert, I, 287.

Fenwick, George, writes to Winthrop from Saybrook; has cattle in the keeping of Winthrop; "powder left in the Bay;" boundaries not to be settled without his consent, I, 120, 121; one of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, 153, 165, 167.

Firmin, Gyles, in a letter to Governor Winthrop from Ipswich, wishes a grant of land elsewhere; proposes to study divinity; afterwards an eminent minister, I, 122, 123.

Fisher, Daniel, nominated a magistrate, II, 282.

Fisher, John, denounced by Randolph, II, 266, 273.

Flint, Rev. Josiah, II, 171.

Foster, Mr., II, 205.

Fowle, Thomas, a signer, with Child and others, of the Remonstrance in 1646, I, 223, 239. See Remonstrance.

Foxcroft, George, one of the grantees in the Massachusetts Charter, I, 5-12; one of the first Assistants, 12; judgment rendered against him, 1636, in the Court of King's Bench, under a writ of *quo warranto*, 117.

French, Dutch, and Swedes supply the Indians with fire-arms, I, 261, 271.

G.

GARDINER, Sir Christopher, complains of the Massachusetts Colony to the Privy Council, I, 57; the complaint dismissed, 59; "knight of the golden melice," *ibid*; sent prisoner to England, 60.

Garrat, his ship lost at sea, II, 27; mentioned, 30.

Gedney,

- Gedney, otherwise Gidney, Bartholomew, denounced by Randolph, II, 266; nominated as magistrate, 282, 285.
- General Considerations for the Plantation in New England; the spread of the gospel, a refuge for the church of God, provision for an increasing population; the earth is the Lord's; we may be ruined if we stay here; there is room, and a fair opportunity for us in New England, &c., I, 29-31.
- General Court of Massachusetts, their letter of thanks to Edward Hopkins, then, 1655, in England, I, 303. Their Address to King Charles II in Dec., 1660, II, 43-47. See Massachusetts. Their instructions to John Leverett, the agent of the Colony in England; what answer to make to king or parliament; if complaints are made, to obtain liberty for a reply from home; what to say respecting the Iron Works and the Quakers, 47-50. They resolve, 1661-2, to send Simon Bradstreet and John Norton as agents to England, 65. A committee appointed to superintend the affair, *ibid.* Proceedings of this committee, 65-93. Provision made for the expense of the agency, 65, 66, 74, 75. From whom obtained, 83. Consent of the church in Boston asked for Mr. Norton's absence, 66; copies of records of proceedings of the Court furnished, 67. Bradstreet and Norton express doubts of the expediency of asking all that the Court had asked in their first address to the king, 68. Difficulties of the undertaking, as apprehended by Bradstreet and Norton, 69, 70. Answer of the committee, 70-72. The committee desire Bradstreet and Norton to prepare an Address to the king, 73, 74. Instructions to Bradstreet and Norton, 76. Address to the king, 77, 78. Letter to Lord Say-and-Seal, imploring his assistance, 78, 79. Letter to Lord Clarendon, introducing the agents, 80. Commission of the agents, 82. Letter to the earl of Manchester, 81, and to other influential friends in England, 85. Governor Endecott, after some hesitation, signs the credentials of the agents, 86. The agents unwilling to proceed, 87. Norton is taken sick, which occasions further delay, 88. The vessel is detained some days; at length, Feb. 11, 1661-2, the agents set sail, 93. Letter of the committee to Richard Saltonstall, Henry Ashurst, and John Leverett, requesting them to act as agents, in case Bradstreet and Norton do not proceed, 93-95. General Court write to Robert Boyle, deprecating the sending of the Royal Commissioners to New England, 113. Their Petition and Address to the king, Oct., 1678, praying that their agents, Stoughton and Bulkeley, may be permitted to return, and not be detained to answer complaints, 254-257. The General Court write, June, 1681, to Sir Lionel Jenkins, Secretary of State. In compliance with the king's order, they had chosen sundry persons as agents, who had declined the service, partly from the danger of capture by the Algerines, and consequent slavery; they hope the king will excuse their sending none, 268-271. They write to Rev. Increase Mather, Jan., 1689-90, then in London, referring to the case of Andros and proceedings consequent on his deposition, 318-320. See Address and Reply of General Court.

- George, Capt., commander of the *Rose* frigate, made prisoner by the Boston people, April, 1689, II, 313.
- George, John, a Baptist, fined and imprisoned, II, 125-127. See Baptists.
- Gibbons, Major Edward, his commission from the Commissioners of the United Colonies, as commander in the apprehended Narragansett war, I, 167. Instructions for his conduct, 169-172.
- Giddings, George, plaintiff, versus Edward Browne, defendant, II, 1-25. An action of trespass, in a case first brought before Justice Samuel Symonds at Ipswich, June, 1657, and decided for the plaintiff, then carried by appeal to the County Court at Salem, and at length decided in favor of the defendant by the General Court of the Colony. The town of Ipswich had passed a vote to raise 100*l.* towards a house for Rev. Thomas Cobbett, their newly-settled minister. The question arose: Was this vote binding on those who dissented from it, and could the property of dissentients be taken in payment of the tax levied in pursuance of said vote? Justice Symonds decided in the negative, and held that it is contrary to fundamental law that a man should be compelled to pay that which others do give, 1-17. But the General Court decided in the affirmative, 19-25.
- Gifford, John, complains to the Privy Council against Massachusetts in the matter of the Iron Works, II, 41. [The name is wrongly printed *Sefford*.]
- Gilbert, Matthew, of New Haven, II, 54, 59.
- Gillam, Capt. Benjamin, of Boston, II, 236.
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- were meeting with great affronts. Plan of appropriating the funds raised for the conversion of the Indians. Complains that most of the council, officers, justices of peace, &c., are Congregationalists, 291-294. Another letter to the same, refers to the misuse of the money raised for the conversion of the Indians. He had requested to have the bell of the First church tolled for prayers, twice a week, but was refused. Want of good schoolmasters, 294-296. Randolph writes to John Povey, May, 1687, complains of inadequate compensation; had lost much money, had disposed of his office of Secretary to John West; doings of the council; changes recommended. Connecticut solicited by Dongan to submit to New York; Mr. Mason; Moody out of humour, 296-298. He writes again to the same, Jan. 1687-8; death of Lady Andros; wishes a man from England to be Deputy Secretary, in place of West, who extorts large fees, oppressing the people, and making the government odious. Wishes attorneys and judges from England; wants an assistant in his office. Plymouth people have had great success in the whale fishery, 299-301. Another letter to the same, June 21, 1688, relates his visit, with Gov. Andros, to Pemaquid, and the proceedings there. Andros also visited Castine's settlement, and plundered his house; held intercourse with Indians; ordered the fort at Pemaquid to be repaired. Exactions from the people in Maine by Palmer and West, under Dongan's authority, 304-307. Randolph and his associates seized and put in confinement, 311. He writes to the governor of Barbadoes from the "goal in Boston," May 16, 1689, giving an account of the outbreak, and overthrow of Andros's government; confesses that the people "have not been treated well"; refers to the case of Robert Glanville from Salem, an accomplice of pirates and now in prison, 314-317. A letter of thanks from Randolph to Dr. Elisha Cooke of Boston for kind treatment; intercedes for a wounded man in prison, 318.
- Rawson, Edward, agent in Boston for the receipt and disbursement of funds raised in England for the conversion of the Indians, I, 260, 292; Secretary of the General Court, 303-307, II, 40; a letter from him to John Leverett in London encloses one to Cromwell. II, 30; writes to Governor Leete that the neglect of New Haven to acknowledge the king's authority, and the shelter given to the regicides, were operating to the disadvantage of the colonies; urges the arrest of the regicides, 57-60.
- Reasons for a removal from Old to New England, I, 29-31. Reasons offered by Cotton for his removal, 60-63.
- Rebellious children to be put to death, by a law never executed, I, 198.
- Reckes, Mr., complains of Massachusetts, II, 41. See *Beex*.
- Regicides, Whalley and Goffe, report of a search for them by Thomas Kellond and Thomas Kirke, II, 52-57. Neglect of the New Haven authorities to apprehend them, 53-59. Proclamation of the Commissioners of the United Colonies against secreting them, 63, 64. Complaint of the kind entertainment given them in Massachusetts, 148.
- Remonstrance of Bradstreet and others. See Bradstreet and Ipswich.

Remonstrance and Petition of Robert Child and others, in 1646, against the civil polity hitherto existing in the colony. It complains, 1. That the civil constitution is not according to the laws of England. 2. That "many thousands in these plantations of the English nation" are deprived of their civil rights. 3. That many members of the Church of England are "detained from the seals of the covenant of grace," though compelled regularly to attend public worship in a way not of their choosing, and to assist in its support, I, 214-223.

Reply of the General Court to the Remonstrance of Robert Child and others. The Remonstrants contradict themselves; by their own showing, they have nothing to complain of; they acknowledge the government of the colony has been attended with most happy results. The civil polity of the colony is founded on the charter, and upon the fundamental and common law of England; which is shown by a large induction of particulars. Nobody is deprived of "the seals of the covenant," who is willing to come under the bonds of the covenant, I, 223-247.

Reply of Winthrop to Vane's Answer. When a matter is referred to the discretion of the magistrate, it is to be supposed that he will suitably regard his oath of office, and his duty both to God and to the Commonwealth. Many things must be left to the discretion of men, and who more fit to enjoy this prerogative than the fathers of a Christian community? If the father of a family may exclude from his house unsuitable persons, a similar power may be safely entrusted to Christian rulers. Such is God's appointed and usual method of proceeding, and it seems to be according to his will, I, 96-113.

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